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MASSACHUSETTS

Schools: PAST, PRESENT

AND POSSIBLE



ANNUAL REPORT: MASSACHUSETTS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

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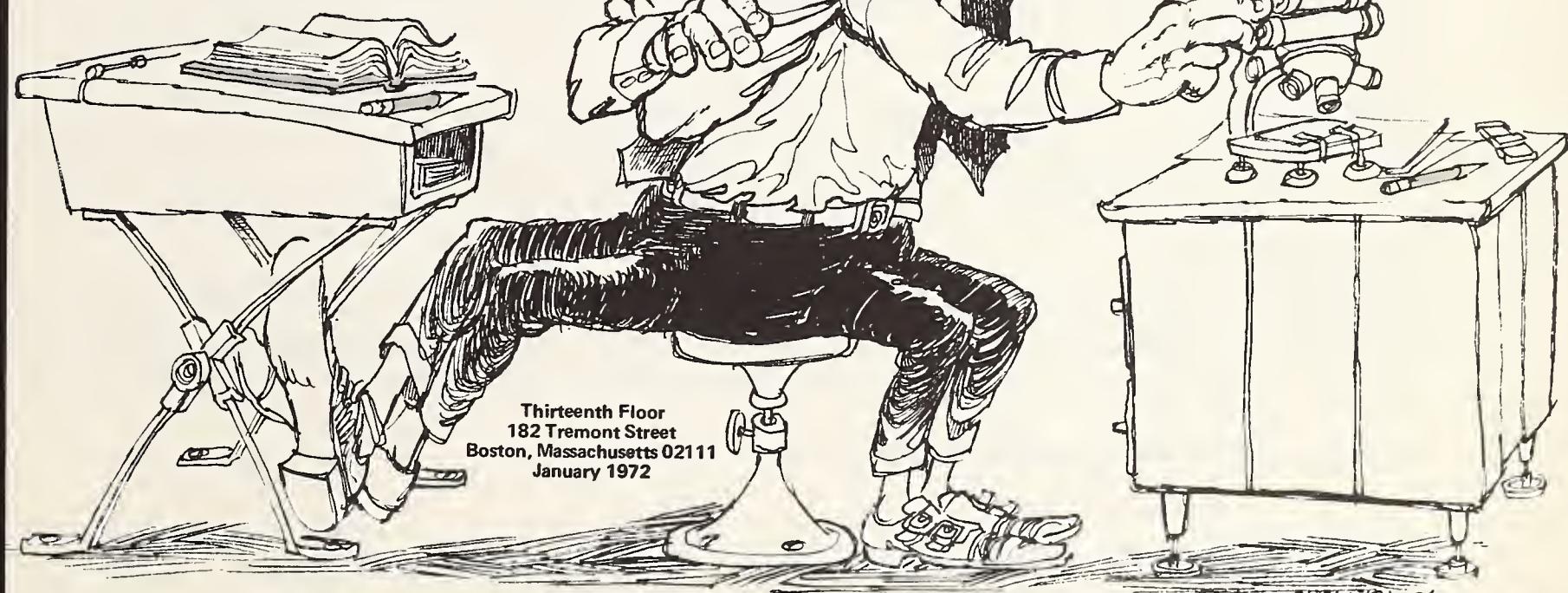
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MASSACHUSETTS

Schools: PAST, PRESENT

Richard H. deLone

AND POSSIBLE



ANNUAL REPORT: MASSACHUSETTS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

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*The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Advisory Council on Education*

13th Floor- 182 Tremont Street

Boston 02111

December 14, 1971

His Excellency Francis W. Sargent
Executive Office
State House
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Governor Sargent:

On behalf of the members of the Advisory Council, I am pleased to submit our fifth annual report. This report is unique in that its first section is a report commissioned by the Council in the form of an analysis of most of the Council's studies to date and the view which these studies reveal of the state of education in the Commonwealth.

As you are aware, the Council is charged by law with recommending to you appointments to the Board of Higher Education, the Board of Education, and the Board of Trustees of State Colleges. In meeting this responsibility the Council has searched diligently across the Commonwealth for able and outstanding persons from varying backgrounds and has nominated these to you to fill vacancies that have occurred on the various boards.

During fiscal 1971, the Council released the Report of the Massachusetts Business Task Force for School Management and study reports on school district organization, the comprehensive high school, educational opportunities for handicapped and disadvantaged children and State Aid for education. During that year the Council also planned and commissioned studies of early childhood education, our system of state colleges and of school building costs.

The Council expresses gratitude to those directing its studies, to the many Massachusetts citizens who have advised the Council and served on its study committees and not least, to its Director and Staff. It commends findings and recommendations of its studies to you, the Legislature, the Boards and the people and their educational leaders for careful consideration and appropriate implementation.

Respectfully Submitted,

Philip C. Beals

Philip C. Beals
Chairman

FOREWARD

For the past two years the Council has been aware that the findings and recommendations of its studies interrelate and sketch in increasing detail the overall picture of our systems of education in the Commonwealth. The Council has been concerned from the beginning that school boards and other state educational authorities have the resources to implement appropriate recommendations of the studies and that the findings and recommendations be increasingly known and understood across the state. In consequence, the Council commissioned an experienced and talented education writer to read its studies to date on elementary and secondary education and to report the view which these studies give of education in Massachusetts. The Council offers this account as the initial section of its fifth annual report. The second section of the report presents the basic facts and a brief summary of Council activities from July 1970, through November 1971.

The writer of the first section is Mr. Richard H. de Lone, currently an assistant commissioner in the New York City public school system. An honors graduate of Harvard, with a masters degree in English from Berkeley and a year as an Alfred North Whitehead Fellow at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, Mr. de Lone has been an education reporter for the Philadelphia

Bulletin, assistant to the superintendent of schools in Philadelphia and a lecturer in education at the University of Massachusetts. His writings include articles in the Saturday Review and papers for the White House Commission on Instructional Technology and the National Academy of Education.

Mr. de Lone's charge was not the impossible summarizing of nineteen studies consisting of thousands of pages, nor evaluating these studies, but to write a synthesis of the studies, as he understood them. Such a synthesis requires the experienced judgment of the writer; Mr. de Lone has been entirely free to exercise that judgment.

The director emphasizes two points. Findings and recommendations of the studies involve judgment and choice, but even more so, Mr. de Lone has had to choose from thousands of pages of materials and ideas. Such judgments may arouse disagreement or controversy. If controversy is engendered, may it refer readers back to the original studies and to the conditions themselves under which educators work and children are educated.

The second point is that these studies are of the generality of our education programs and practices. Each study acknowledges the excellence in some systems and some programs. Perhaps it is most important to note that the data

upon which the findings and recommendations are based are, in most cases, over two years old. There are splendid efforts and some successes in school systems across the state. As Mr. de Lone notes, the Board of Education and its Department are undertaking sweeping efforts at planning and reorganization. A good certification bill almost passed the Legislature last year and has been refiled. Two bills, which would greatly increase state funding and equalize local school funding, have been filed in a markedly different climate of concern.

Yet, in the final analysis, the reports do not present a picture of excellent and equal education opportunities for all, or even most, of our children and youth. Massachusetts does not to any great degree stand at the top among states where it stood fifty years ago and through the greater part of this country's history before that.

The Advisory Council has presented its reports to the people and their leaders. It now presents this synthesis of most of those reports in the conviction that when people know and understand, they will insist upon and support good education for all of our children and youth.

William C. Gaige
Director of Research

MASSACHUSETTS

SECTION A

Schools: PAST, PRESENT

Richard H. deLone

An interpretative report on education in the Commonwealth derived from the studies of the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education.



This report was carried out under contract with the
New England School Development Council.

ANNUAL REPORT: MASSACHUSETTS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

PREFACE

It has been said that the only thing duller than education is a report about education. If that is true, then a report about education derived from a number of other reports about education, threatens to be exponentially dull.

This is such a report. It is an effort to summarize the state of public education in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts today. To achieve such a summary, it draws on dozens of reports compiled by others who have studied in considerable depth, particular aspects of the state's education system. Some of them make heavy reading, although few are dull, and I would hope that this report, rather than being dull itself, is both readable and reasonably lucid.

The reports I have drawn on were all commissioned by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education (MACE), a body established by the General Court to survey and assess education in the Commonwealth and make suggestions for its improvement. MACE is a rather unique public agency, in that it is established to research problems but has no power to implement its recommendations.

Implementation depends on the General Court, the state Board of Education, the state Department of Education, the school districts and educators throughout the Commonwealth and finally, the public at large.

Implementation depends as well on these constituencies having a comprehension of the situation that exists and an awareness of alternatives for improvement. A major intention of this report is to make more readily accessible to those concerned with education in the Commonwealth, the major findings and recommendations of the MACE studies.

It is important to stress, however, that while I

have viewed the education scene in Massachusetts primarily through the binoculars of the MACE reports, the emphases, interpretations, and ordering of the material, for better or for worse, are mine.

This report limits itself to those MACE studies which pertain directly to elementary and secondary education in the public schools. It is organized in three major parts. The first part reflects my belief that some of the solution to any problem is an appreciation of how it got there. Thus, it is an effort to elucidate briefly the manner in which the education system of the Commonwealth has arrived at its current state, and some of the difficulties which have resulted.

The second part discusses some of the key issues which exist today and some of the key MACE recommendations for dealing with those issues. And the third part suggests what kinds of action might produce the critical first steps in making possible the continuous improvement and change that characterize a first rate educational system.

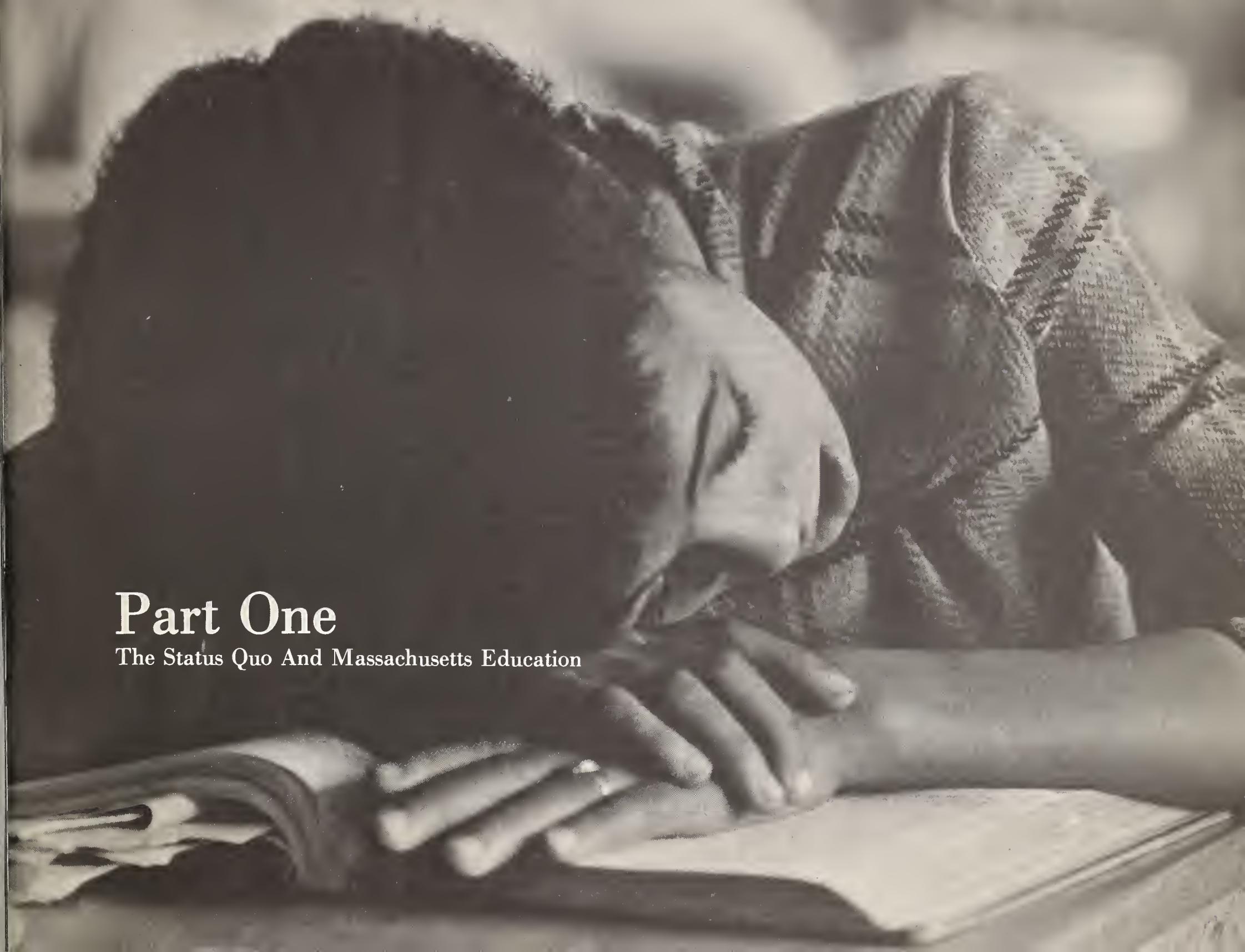
Richard H. de Lone
Amherst, Massachusetts

He was found by the Bureau of Statistics
to be
One against whom there was no complaint
...

And our teachers report that he never
interfered with their education.
Was he free? Was he happy? The question
is absurd:
Had anything been wrong, we should
certainly have heard.

— W.H. Auden

Photo By Mark Silber



Part One

The Status Quo And Massachusetts Education

Chapter 1: Massachusetts Schools Today

To begin with a student: a fairly typical student, growing up in a medium-sized town somewhere in the center of Massachusetts, where his father was lucky enough to pick up a job with a tool manufacturer after the shoe factory closed.

He spends his first eight years in school in a small elementary school. Day after day, 180 days a year, what he does is go to school. He looks forward to weekends, Christmas and Easter vacations and summer. His evenings are a juggling act: he juggles the prodding of his parents, the requirements of his homework, and the allure of TV. Usually, TV gets the most time.

Every other year, because he's a nice kid and a touch lucky, he gets a teacher who likes him enough to put in some extra time with him. He likes that attention because it makes him feel good. Some of the teachers who take that extra time with him also get him excited about learning something.

On those few occasions out of his first eight 180-day school years, the homework becomes exciting; the words on the page live. His marks are never very good, however, and by the time he comes to high school, like most students in the state of Massachusetts, he finds the routine a drag.

In four years, he will be old enough to vote, old enough to be drafted, and the prospect of earning a living will be upon him.

It is clear that he is not going to college, because on the basis of his grades, the school counselor (there is only one for the seven hundred students in his smallish high school) decided that he's not *college material*. So he has been placed in a track of "average to slow"

students, from which there will be no likelihood of escape if statistical patterns hold – although he doesn't know that he is part of the great statistical middle of Massachusetts students.

In fact, not very much is clear to him at all. The future is a kind of blur. Beyond getting a driver's license in two years, and the vague awareness that a couple of years after that comes graduation, he has little sense of what is ahead of him. He knows the kind of work his father does, but is not very excited by it. Other people in town, he knows, make money selling things, or running a gas station and there are always the few rich men who run the factories or sell a lot of real estate or build homes. Their children have money to spend. He wants a job of some kind after school so he can have some money too. That seems to be what a job is: a way to get money.

But, he has no strong interest in any particular work – no vocation. He doesn't have much interest, either, in the watered-down literature courses, history courses, general science and algebra that he takes at school. Nor, for that matter do many teachers seem to have much interest in him. He is in the general curriculum. The subject-matter teachers each have responsibility for four or five classes, over a hundred kids. It gets boring, year after year, to try to teach poetry to kids who find poetry boring, and so they reserve their energies for the unusually bright and talented, the kids taking the academic curriculum.

Occasionally, talking to a visitor, the high school principal wishes that some kind of vocational education were available for this student, and hundreds of kids like him. The principal is an intelligent man. He knows that most of the kids in the general curriculum aren't getting much out of school. Most of them don't

like it. They present him with most of the *discipline problems*.

But the town can't afford a costly vocational school. And it can't put shops into the old high school building for the same reason. And though there is going to be a regional-vocational-technical school built nearby, it won't be able to serve all the kids who are in the general curriculum. Besides, the principal tries to keep up with the educational literature, and he knows there are many reasons to doubt the effectiveness of *standard-brand* vocational-technical education for all but a handful of kids.

He knows as well that there are other ways to organize a high school, other curricula that might make more sense for more students, but he doesn't really have time to learn about them in depth. Just keeping the school running from day to day is an exhausting job.

And even if he **did** know how to do something different, he doubts that he could implement it. Making changes in education takes time and money. It takes time to teach teachers new approaches: his teachers don't have the time. Nor is there anyone around to teach them. That takes money.

His own hands are kept full trying to work with new teachers who come bearing a certificate that says they are teachers, but who have scarcely seen the inside of a classroom since their own high school days.

And he has no idea where the money will come from. The town is strapped. Its economy is stagnant. Its property tax is high. School committee members, pressed by their constituents, are constantly urging him to find ways to keep the costs down.

So he does the best he can, and most kids, like the kid in this example, wait out their time and

get a diploma. Education in the Commonwealth goes on.

This abbreviated educational biography is neither a distortion nor an unusual case. Rather, it is a composite picture derived from over a million dollars worth of studies of education in the Commonwealth, commissioned by the Massachusetts Advisory Council on Education (MACE) over the past five years. With a few changes in detail, it applies equally to city, suburb or small town.

If it seems lifeless and drab, perhaps that is only because, as Charles Silberman pointed out in *Crisis in the Classroom, adults take the schools so much for granted, they fail to appreciate what grim, joyless places most American schools are, how oppressive and petty are the rules by which they are governed, how intellectually sterile and aesthetically barren the atmosphere.*

Indeed, this typical student, has it better than many Massachusetts students: better than the huge number from impoverished families who learn next to nothing from schools; better than the physically and mentally handicapped who frequently find either no service or only the most dehumanizing schools available to them. It may be, as well, that the slow alienation of drudgery is no worse than the rapid alienation of thousands of so-called *academically-talented* students who attend schools whose rigidities imprison talent.

More than a few educational critics in recent years have pointed, with an urgency sometimes verging on hysteria, to the generally dehumanizing and sometimes destructive aspects of American education. The problem with much popular criticism, however, is that it frequently stops at condemnation, rhetoric or visionary

gleams. Rarely does it point to the invisible, difficult (and usually less than glamorous) structural changes that are necessary to make the education system — American's largest organized enterprise — work.

Basic Flaws In The Foundation

A decade ago, a series of widely-read articles in The Boston Globe detailed the basic structural flaws which the authors, Ian Menzies and Ian Forman, saw as the cause of "The Mess in Bay State Education." They cited the following deficiencies:

- *An archaic, inequitable and miserly formula of state aid which ranked the Commonwealth 47th among the states in state support of public schools.*

- *A heavy reliance on local property taxes (in the absence of state aid) to fund education, a reliance which meant that "the standard of education has become geared to the accident of geographic location." That is, real estate-poor communities were unable to purchase the same level of educational services for their children as wealthier communities.*

- *A large number of high school students enrolled in a so-called "general curriculum" which was neither flesh nor fowl: it prepared them neither for a job nor college.*

- *A lack of leadership at the state level and a state department of education, supposed to provide that leadership, which was understaffed, underfinanced and underpaid. The result, Forman and Menzies reported, was an agency where "pencil counting dominates" and public*

education itself was dominated by "uninformed executives, legislators and fiscal clerks in the State House."

- *A failure to plan and coordinate for an intelligible and comprehensive system of education, a failure endemic, "since Horace Mann first gave public education here its impetus in 1838."*

- *A tradition of "every town for itself" which severely limited the possibility of state-coordinated action.*

Their conclusions added up to a simple indictment: Massachusetts education had failed to achieve either of the two most basic goals of schooling: quality education and equality of opportunity.

The Menzies and Forman series crystallized a growing concern about education in the state. The result was the establishment by the Legislature of the Willis-Harrington Commission in 1964. The Commission's two-year study confirmed many of the charges of *The Mess in Bay State Education* and recommended extensive changes.

Then Ben Willis went back to being superintendent of schools in Chicago, Kevin Harrington went on to become Senate president in the Massachusetts State Senate, and most recommendations went into legislative committees, never to be seen again. Others were adopted but emasculated by lack of money or staff. One important recommendation that was implemented, however, was the creation in 1965 of MACE, an independent arm of state government with the unique role of providing continuous study, evaluation, and plans for

improvement of education in the state.

Since its first study, a look at school finances, completed in 1967, MACE has financed surveys of a broad range of topics, undertaken by teams of prestigious consultants, educators, professors and, occasionally, laymen from within Massachusetts and without.¹ Among other things, these studies provide a detailed and specific way of assessing where the Commonwealth's schools stand today, in comparison with the *mess* Menzies and Forman outlined.

In making that comparison, it becomes obvious that much as the world may have changed in the last decade, Massachusetts education has changed little.

Ten Years After: The Mess Remains

Take the question of school finance:

When Menzies and Forman wrote their articles, Massachusetts, which was one of the wealthiest states in the nation based on per capita income, ranked 47th among the states in state aid to education.

A decade later, Massachusetts, which is still one of the wealthiest states in the nation based on per capita income, still ranks 47th in state aid to education.

Based on percentage of per capita income devoted to public education, in fact, the state finishes dead last.

The low percentage of state aid is a direct result of continued overwhelming reliance on the

property tax as the primary source of school revenues. And this reliance is a major factor in denying equality of educational opportunity.

During the school year 1969-70, the latest available figure, only one state placed a heavier load on the local property tax than did Massachusetts. That means, in a nutshell, that *the accident of geographical location* remains a key determinant of educational opportunity. In 1968-69, for instance, the highest school district in the state spent \$1,566 per pupil. The lowest spent less than \$500. The gap exceeds three to one.

When property taxes account for the bulk of a state's revenue for schools (and they account for 71 percent of the budget in Massachusetts), the wealthy towns can buy better services than the poor, and they usually do.

Put crudely, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The children of the well-to-do receive substantially more educational services than the children of the poor. By failing to remedy this tax structure, the General Court is giving its tacit assent to a system of education which tends to perpetuate rather than erode class distinctions.

In a recent case, in fact, the California Supreme Court has ruled that inequities in school finance resulting from reliance on the property tax constitute an unconstitutional denial of equal opportunity.

A decade ago, Menzies and Forman concluded that the state department of education was one of the weakest in the nation. A recent MACE study of the department, directed by Dr. John

Gibson of the Lincoln-Filene Center, Tufts University, found little to alter that conclusion.² The department remains poorly financed, mired in red-tape, hamstrung by Beacon Hill and able to exert leadership only in rare instances of exceptional efforts.

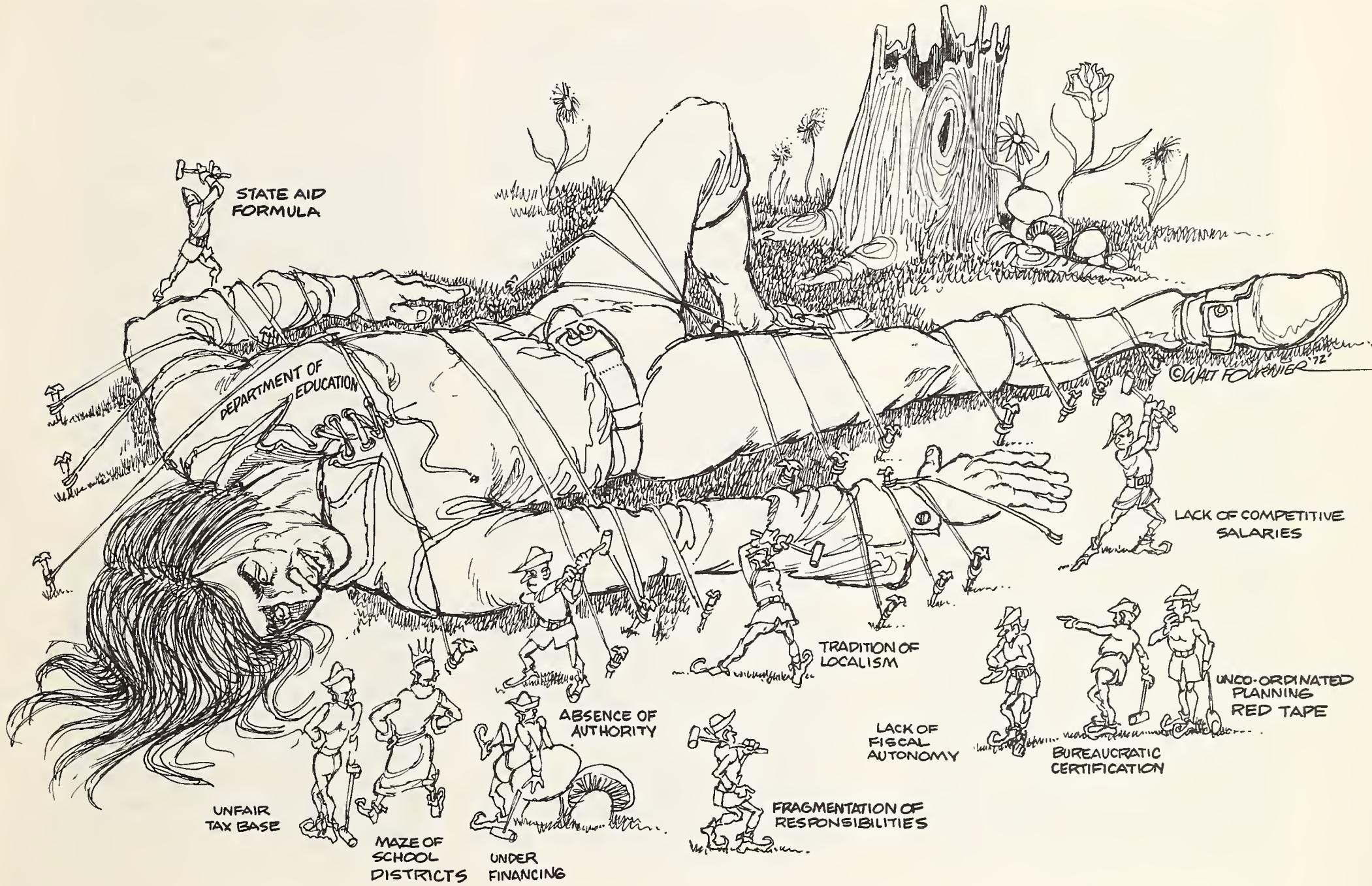
Not surprisingly, an impoverished state department has been unable to provide the necessary leadership for development of a master plan. Today, as a decade ago, none exists. Massachusetts, therefore, quite literally does not know where its educational system is going. Instead, habit, the vagaries of the economy, and accidents of local initiative determine the shape of schooling. And the department itself, to quote the Gibson report, *has no basic plan, objective, or projections for the conduct of internal operations*.

(On the plus side, however, there are some signs of life in the state department now. During the past year, under leadership of a new commissioner, marked internal reorganization has been taking place -- a must, according to Gibson. The Board of Education itself has taken initiative to establish a set of educational imperatives for the Commonwealth. The first step, preparation of basic educational goals for Massachusetts, has been accomplished. Those goals were widely distributed throughout the state for reaction. From this beginning, the board expects to develop a complete master plan, but the resources to achieve this are still required and there is a long way to go.)

A hardy tradition of localism has survived the

1. All footnotes appear in the FOOTNOTES section following the text of this report and a list of current MACE studies is shown on the inside back cover.

Department of Education



sixties as well. This is, of course, a strong Massachusetts heritage, rooted in a history of village democracy. At its best, the tradition nourishes the strengths of self-reliance. At its worst, however, it spawns parochialism, inefficiency, and internecine bickering. In Massachusetts today, as a number of MACE studies conclude, the tradition of localism -- which is part of the cause for a weak central state department -- combines with that vacuum of state leadership to thwart efforts at even the simple kind of cooperation and improvement that exchange of information and experience might yield.

One consequence of Massachusetts localism is an idiosyncratic pattern of local school districts, a jumble of confused jurisdictions and uneconomic units, that make rational planning on a state level exceedingly difficult. It has the added consequence of creating breaks and disruptions in the articulation of any one child's education from first through 12th grade.

The general curriculum is alive and well too, the subject of attack by several MACE studies and the source of irrelevance, one study suggests, for half the high school students in the state.³

Lacking in individualization, intellectual vigor or vocational focus, it seems little but an excuse to keep kids off the streets.

In short, the basic problems Menzies and Forman described have undergone the microscopic analysis of a number of MACE surveys. Their dimensions and intricacies have been thoroughly atomized. The statistical dimensions of these malfunctions are clear. Recommendations for their elimination now exist. But the problems remain the same.

Some Additional Problems

In fact, the MACE studies raise a number of additional problems:

- *The inequality of opportunity that exists in elementary and secondary education is compounded by failure of the state to move in an area of increasing importance: adult education.*

- *Weak state leadership is further diminished by a scattering of authority for any given task among a smattering of state agencies, producing a swirl of red tape that thwarts coordinated action.*

- *Teacher training in the Commonwealth is inadequate in general and in many specific areas, such as education of disadvantaged children, virtually non-existent. It has been linked to a rigid, marginal and sometimes counter-productive process of teacher certification.*

- *Concern for students, or carefully defined attention to their learning needs, are conspicuously absent from many educational agencies and programs.*

This last point is, of course, the most serious, as well as being the result, to a considerable extent, of all the others. For in the end, it is the life of each and every student which is effected by the massive machinery, fiscal, bureaucratic, and governmental, which makes up the education system.

The relationship between such issues as a state aid formula or the internal management of a State Department of Education to the life of an individual may seem obscure. On the surface,

that is so. But it is a relationship that can be clearly traced. Indeed, the test of any educational system is whether or not it functions with the exquisite delicacy and balance required to attune the energies of a huge enterprise to the concerns and necessities of thousands of individual people.

Return to the career of the *typical* student described above:

He suffers through a general curriculum, in part because his town cannot afford the richness of a good comprehensive high school. In part, that is because his towns people cannot tolerate a heavier burden on their property tax. In part, it is because the town also insists -- like many neighboring towns -- on operating its own high school: a school too small to provide a diverse program. In fact, because it is a small high school in a small school district, a higher proportion of the annual budget goes to administration than in larger districts. And in part, it is because the knowledge and skills needed to provide a better program simply are not there.

If the situation is going to be remedied for him, some changes have to occur. Changes require new inputs, new sources of energy. But at the state level, there is no move to improve the financing of education. And the state department is in no position to exert the leadership that might create a merger of school districts or, at minimum, provide the principal and teachers of the town with information and training to bring the school curriculum up to date.

The state's educational system sits there like a pool of stagnant water, waiting for someone to toss in a rock.

Chapter 2: The Limitation Of Tradition

The biography of a typical Massachusetts student is, to be sure, similar to the educational history of many other students in many other states. And it is by no means a recent phenomenon. Critics of education have long pointed to the snail's pace at which schools change their customs and habits. A particular target over the years has been the difficulty of individualizing instruction in a system of mass education.

Former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, once observed that it takes about forty years to disseminate a new idea through American schools. Sometimes, it would seem, it takes longer. A 1906 article in the *Ladies Home Journal*, for instance, railed against the *lock step, convict, all-children-are-alike* method of education still found in most American classrooms, judging it *stupid in method, impractical in plan and absolutely ineffective in results*.

But it was not that educators lacked the pedagogic know-how even then to individualize and humanize instruction. In the 1870's, for instance, the Quincy schools, under the superintendency of Col. Francis Parker, provided the nation with a model of excellence and individualized instruction that sounds a great deal like the *innovative* British elementary schools which are attracting so much attention from educational reformers today:

The set curriculum was abandoned, and with it the speller, the reader, the grammar, and the copybook. Children were started on simple

words and sentences, rather than alphabet learned by rote. In place of time-honored texts, magazines, newspapers and materials developed by the teachers themselves were introduced into the classroom. Arithmetic was approached inductively, through objects rather than rules, while geography began with a series of trips over the local countryside... The emphasis throughout was an observing, describing and understanding, and only when these abilities had begun to manifest themselves -- among the faculty as well as the students -- were more conventional studies introduced. (The Transformation of the American School, Lawrence A. Cremin, Vintage, p. 130.)

The unorthodox program in Quincy worked. Tests showed the Quincy students of that epoch among the leaders of the nation in basic skills development. Yet, the Quincy method failed to spread throughout the Commonwealth. Eventually it died out in Quincy as well, the victim, curiously enough, of public attack. Despite contrary evidence, many parents simply insisted that it was not teaching the *fundamentals*.

The Quincy example is typical of Massachusetts in two particular ways: first of all, the early history of the Commonwealth is studded with pioneering educational efforts that flourished and withered in the isolation of a particular school district without disturbing the tranquility -- some might say the somnolence -- of other school systems in the state.

And it is also significant because it is one of thousands of available illustrations of the importance of a well-informed and concerned public to the well-being of the educational system -- a characteristic by no means limited to

Massachusetts.

Today, as was true close to a century ago, Massachusetts possesses an education system full of *firsts* but it lacks ability to assemble those firsts into a first rate educational system across the board. Rather the state's peculiar educational tradition, particularly its sometimes proud and sometimes stubborn veneration of localism, has become a major obstacle to progress. Before discussing the particular requirements for developing a system that promotes equality of educational opportunity for each individual student, therefore, it is necessary to take a look at that tradition and its limitations.

The Massachusetts Heritage

Massachusetts does have a long and proud educational heritage. The concept of universal public education began in this country with passage of the *Old Deluder Satan Act* in 1642, requiring religious education and rudimentary instruction in reading and writing for all children in the state, as an antidote to sin. Seven years earlier, the Boston Latin School, the nation's oldest public school in continuous existence, was started. A year after that, Harvard, the country's first university, began. In 1647, every town of fifty families or more was required to build a grammar school.

Religious education was the primary thrust of these early schools, but by the time of the state Constitution of 1780, a concept of education quite similar to what we today call education of the *whole child* was mandated. Schools were to teach *agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures and a natural history of the country* as well as *inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence*, not to

mention *sincerity, good humor and all social affections, and generous sentiments, among the people.*

In 1837, Massachusetts established the first state department of education, under the leadership of Horace Mann.⁴ Mann did provide a strong leadership at the state level, but such leadership has been a scarce commodity since then. In good measure, this is because two other aspects of Massachusetts' educational tradition were also firmly rooted by that time: localism and privatism.

Clearly, both these aspects of the tradition have their merits. The principle of local control stands as a check against the unresponsiveness of large governmental units to particular communities. It underscores the Jeffersonian belief that education, as a vital ingredient in the strength of the community, should be controlled by the community.

Similarly, private education provides diversity and has frequently provided the education of many of the Commonwealth's outstanding leaders.

But, as has been suggested, these virtues can be distorted and, carried to extremes, exact a price much too dear.

For instance, it was not until quite recently that the Commonwealth realized its many outstanding private colleges and universities were inadequate to provide higher education for the bulk of its young people. That recognition has resulted in a belated effort to strengthen the state colleges and make the University of Massachusetts an institution comparable with state universities in New York, California, Michigan and a host of other places.

But while the state is playing *catch-up* in higher education, the neglect of elementary and

secondary schooling continues. That neglect may reflect the fact that many of the state's leaders have been the product of private education. But it is quite clear that the tradition of localism, carried to extremes, makes concerted state-wide action to remedy the oversight extremely difficult. Furthermore, it is quite clear that the task of education today is of a magnitude and complexity that exceeds the reach of many local school systems. For both these reasons -- the need for coordinated statewide action and the obstacle which localism inherently presents to such action -- the tradition has in many ways outlived its usefulness.

The Need For Concerted, Statewide Action

Despite the tradition of local control, education is basically a state responsibility. It is one of the residual powers accorded to the states under the U.S. Constitution, as numerous Supreme Court decisions have made clear.

It is an explicit responsibility under the state Constitution, as well, and the General Court has given the State Board of Education broad statutory power (with few actual resources to back up that power) over all the Commonwealth's public schools.

The formalities of law aside, there are a number of compelling reasons for coordinated and effective leadership of education at the state level.

The state, as licensor of teachers, is strategically located to insure that teacher training is relevant and effective.

Only state government is in a position to compensate for the wide disparities and frequent inabilities of local tax bases to support quality education.

Only the state can eliminate the duplication and wasteful management practices that result -- particularly, as a MACE study of the topic shows in the field of school construction -- from small splintered school districts each trying to do in isolation what can be better accomplished through cooperation.

Education plays too vital a role in the overall economic health of a state to leave its effective functioning totally in the hands of localities.

Education, like any other governmental function, requires the support of organized citizen coalitions to assure it receives proper attention from state government. Any such coalition, by definition, requires central coordination.

Development of sound educational programs, dissemination of worthwhile innovations, and sound educational management all rely on information, the most precious commodity in our electronic age. Here too, the need is apparent for central coordination and direction to lend coherence and flow. Furthermore, information is power. It is the muscle for effective political action and, to repeat, effective political action is a *sine qua non* for making education a legislative priority.

Finally, and perhaps most important of all, as the world grows more complex, as the pace of change continually increases, the isolation of local communities fosters obsolescence. As one MACE report puts it, *all dimensions of personal efficacy in the future will depend on the quality of education one receives.*⁶

The ironic fact is that most small districts who choose autonomy at the expense of cooperation will ultimately erode the ability of their children to function with potency and autonomy in a complex, interdependent society. To put it

another way, any definition of community now must extend beyond the boundaries of particular towns.

Tradition's Legacy: The Double Bind

The situation that exists, then, is this:

A state which has long relied on local school systems and private schools for educational leadership requires concerted statewide action to solve a variety of pressing problems.

A critical first step in the solution of those problems is action by the General Court: action to put financing of schools on an equitable and sufficient basis, and action to provide a state department of education with the wherewithal to give the leadership and statewide direction it is supposed to.

But members of the General Court, true to the tradition of localism, think about education primarily in terms of their local districts. In doing so, of course, they are behaving as proper representatives of their constituents who, weaned in the same tradition, generally show little concern or interest in statewide educational affairs.

Nor is it likely that local school districts will be persuaded to abandon that tradition until they see evidence that the state department of education can deliver useful services to them. Since the state department generally lacks that capability now, the double blind gets tighter.

The situation is exacerbated by lack of an organized educational establishment to lobby effectively for needed changes.

When a tradition outlives its usefulness -- and clearly some aspects of the Massachusetts tradition have -- to knots and blockages that develop are excruciatingly difficult to untie.

There are no clear rules or procedures for ending one tradition and starting another. Yet, clearly, this is what Massachusetts must do. Clearly the Commonwealth must redefine what it means by local control. In those areas where coordination, planning, economies of scale and central leadership can produce better results for students, the local unit must yield. On the other hand, those prerogatives which should remain the local community's must not be lost in the shuffle. For instance, in questions of curricular emphasis and style, or hiring of personnel, the final and responsible act of choice should remain in the intimate setting of town or community.

It is not clear whether such delicate and important changes will be made, although it is fairly obvious that the concern and commitment of a broad spectrum of well-informed and energetic citizens are absolutely necessary.

It is equally clear that basic structural changes are needed before Massachusetts can achieve an individualized educational system, relevant to the needs of each student and characterized by quality and equality of educational opportunity.

It is not that these structural changes will guarantee educational excellence. To the contrary, it is perfectly possible to have a strong state department of education, luxuriously-funded schools, a radiant master plan, and still have depressing results in the classroom.

However, unless basic changes are made, the chances of widespread excellence are almost non-existent. Quality will continue to be the exception, rather than the rule.

The first step in determining what changes would be made is, of course, to understand the basic problems, the necessity for change and the nature of desired changes. The MACE reports

provide a basic thesaurus for the needs and necessities of educational change in the Commonwealth. The following portion of this report, drawing on those studies, attempts to present the issues and possible actions in some depth.

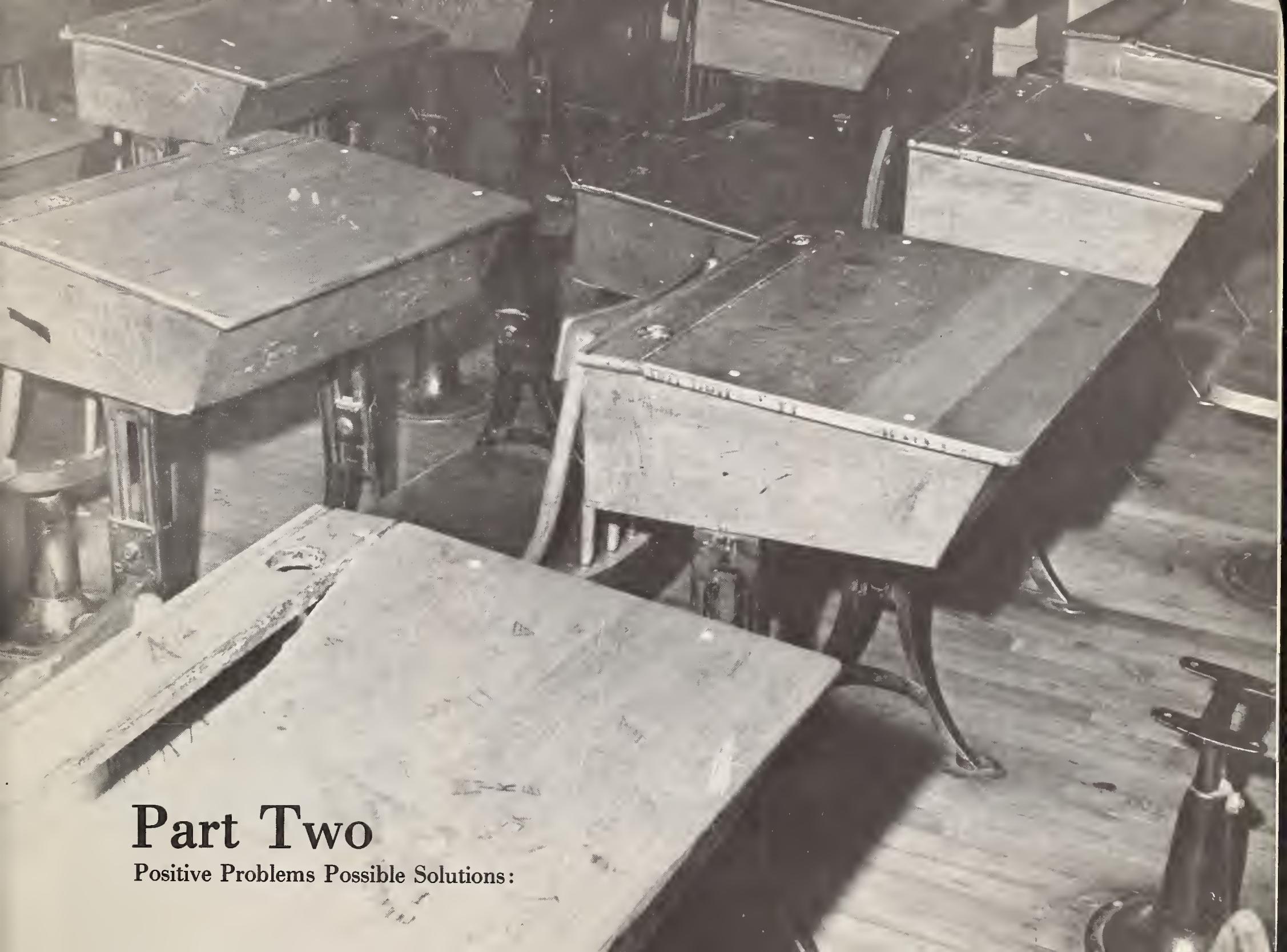
Yet it seems to me that there is an important, but often overlooked aspect of what is being said and done about planned change: the notion that any particular planned change effort is deeply conditioned by the state of the system in which it takes place. For example, properties of the organization such as communication adequacy and the distribution of influence have a powerful effect on the speed and durability of adoption of any particular innovation.

To use an image from Gestalt psychology, specific planned change efforts have most typically been *in figure*, occupying the focus of attention, while the organization itself has remained in the ground.

I believe this emphasis is both practically and theoretically unfortunate. It is time for us to recognize that successful efforts at planned change must take as a primary target the improvements of organizational health – the school system's ability not only to function effectively but to develop and grow into a more fully functioning system.

--Dr. Matthew B. Miles,
Teachers College,
Columbia University

Photo By Anthony's Studio



Part Two

Positive Problems Possible Solutions:

Chapter 3 Strengthening The System: Finances

Cumulatively, the MACE studies examine education in the Commonwealth from a variety of vantage points, a broad range of topics. Some cut across the entire range of the system. Others zero in on specific aspects of it.

Regardless of the approach or the subject matter, however, with a consistency bordering on redundancy, the studies keep coming back to the same underlying themes.

For instance, a team of business executives undertook a survey of management practices throughout the Commonwealth's school systems, and arrived at four major conclusions: 1) there is an urgent need for a good information system; 2) there has been a grave absence of long-range planning at either state or local level; 3) waste and duplication, rather than effectiveness and coordination, result from the splintered nature of Massachusetts school districts; 4) financing of schools is inadequate, and there is a dearth of trained, talented manpower, starting at the State Department of Education and working down.

These overall themes are picked up and echoed in concrete examples of a number of other MACE studies. As another instance, studies of compensatory education, pupil services, the state department, and the high schools of the state, all echo the need for long-range planning, better prepared manpower and the lack of leadership at the state level. This mutuality and reciprocity of themes, is important because taken together the studies constitute a *critical mass*. That is, they present an overwhelming accretion of evidence around a core of basic conclusions that urge, by their persistence and

ubiquity, the need for fundamental systematic change. The recurrence of the same underlying structural flaws suggests strongly that piecemeal efforts at change are doomed to minimal success at best. The system is not healthy.

To use Dr. Miles' figure of speech, the focus must be on the ground, not the figure. It will little avail to talk of free schools, open classrooms, better programs for the emotionally disturbed, media centers or any of the range of prescriptions for quality education which exist today unless broad systematic change takes place. Put another way, before the Commonwealth plunges ahead with dramatic innovation, it must pay attention to the prerequisites: a system capable of functioning effectively and capable of processing change.

The need for broad change can be seen easily if one thinks of the overriding goal of equality of quality educational opportunity:

When funds are distributed inequitably, there will not be equality. When some teachers are better prepared than others, there will not be equality. When some students have a range of curricular options open to them and others have few, when some handicapped children are able to get adequate services while others are not served at all, or when students are treated with dignity in one school system and as mere statistics in another, there cannot be equality.

Furthermore, as is characteristic of any organic system, the health of one part affects the health of others. The best teachers in the world are limited by inadequate resources. Breakdowns in management and planning cause inefficiencies, irritations, and obsessions which diminish the energy available for human concerns. Talented teachers who work in an environment barren of new ideas soon atrophy. The lack of a vigorous

state department limits the possibility of concerted pressure for equitable and adequate funding. And so on.

The need for coordinated, over-all action is stressed here, a need which calls clearly for a strong and capable Massachusetts Department of Education because it is easy to lose sight of the jungle while examining the forest. The entire education system has its own delicate ecology, and that point is important to bear in mind as one considers individual components that comprise the whole system.

The next five chapters of this report will survey pieces of the system under three general headings: school finance, management, and quality of instruction.

These are the major areas of concern which emerge and are reiterated in study after study. Several sub themes are discernible within each.

School finance includes both the overall level of support for public schools in the Commonwealth and the tax structure to provide that support.

Management includes the role of the state Department of Education, the development of information systems, the development of planning capability, and the reshaping of local school district organization.

Quality of instruction, as the MACE reports have dealt with it thus far, includes improving teacher preparation and certification practices; expanding adult education opportunities; substantial reorganization of secondary school and -- perhaps, the most critical theme of all -- creating a human school environment with the student at the center.

Again, none of these issues are mutually exclusive. Only limited progress in any one area can be made without progress in others. They are

treated separately only for the sake of discussion.

Starting With Finances

An indication of the priority a state's citizenry gives education is the amount of money they spend relative to their wealth. By this standard, Massachusetts' record is abominable. In terms of personal income, the Commonwealth is wealthy indeed. It consistently ranks in the top ten states of the union. But, relative to personal income, it has with equal consistency ranked fiftieth and last among the states in dollars expended on public schools.

For every ten dollars they spend on public education, the taxpayers of Massachusetts spend nine dollars on alcohol and cigarettes. The state prides itself on its education heritage, but it actually pays much more attention to financing other governmental services. Measured again in terms of per capita effort, the state ranked first in fire protection, fifth in health and hospitals, fifth in welfare and tenth in police protection in 1969-70.

Because of its relative wealth, the state ends up right in the middle of the pack, ranking 22nd among all states in average expenditure per pupil. That provides no solace, however, for those who believe education is as important as health care or law enforcement. Nor does it alleviate the dramatic inequality that results from town to town because of reliance on local property tax as the major source of school revenues.

The tax is regressive to begin with. Variations in assessment practices create further inequities. The lack of either adequate state support or an effective equitable formula for distributing state revenues create yet a third level of inequity: some towns with a weak property tax base

actually have to make substantially greater effort, taxing property at a higher rate, to provide a smaller per pupil budget than property-rich communities.

Changing The State Aid Formula

Twice in the last 25 years, there have been major efforts to increase the state share of the costs of and to reduce inequalities between school districts. The story is told in a recent MACE study, *The State Dollar and the Schools*, by Charlotte Ryan.⁸

In 1948, the first of these drives ended with passage of a new state aid formula called a *foundation* formula. A foundation formula works this way: the legislature determines a minimum figure that should be spent per pupil for education...It also determines a fair local tax rate for education. If a community's tax base is weak, its fair local effort will be a smaller portion of the minimum per pupil figure than a town with a strong tax base. The state pays the difference between the local fair share and the per pupil minimum.

When the foundation plan was passed in 1948, state support for the public schools increased from approximately five percent to some 15 percent of the total. By 1964, however, the state total had slipped back down to nine percent. This happened because the General Court did not act to keep the formula updated as school costs escalated across the nation and the state.

In 1966, a second revision of the state aid formula occurred. The General Court approved, a so-called *percentage equalization* formula. The law was designed to provide state aid in the amount of about 35% of total operating school

costs in the Commonwealth. Individual districts would receive varying percentages of state aid, however, ranging from 15 to 75 percent, according to their ability to pay. A percentage equalization formula, by distributing state aid on a sliding scale, attempts to remove the inequalities which exist between wealthy and poor towns. Thus, poor towns get a bigger portion of state aid than wealthy towns.

However, the revised formula was emasculated when the General Court appropriated only about half the funds required. The legislature has further passed a series of amendments which have the cumulative effect of severely diluting the equalization provisions.

Recently, many students of educational finance and advocates of equal opportunity have called for a total state take over of the funding of education. At least one MACE report, a study of the Boston School system, directed by Joseph M. Cronin, Secretary of Educational Affairs, and at that time, associate dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, urges that the state assume 90 percent responsibility for financing of public education by the end of the 1970's.

A new foundation plan, a revised and adequately funded *percentage equalization plan* or state assumption of the vast bulk school costs: these are the three major alternatives for improving the financing of public schools as they emerge from a half dozen studies and are summarized in the Ryan report.

The pros and cons of various plans, the technicalities of computing wealth, the arguments for varying adjustments in the state aid formula are legion. Frequently they are obtuse. But the basic need is clear and a solution is feasible.

Massachusetts needs to increase state aid to the public schools, and that increase must meet the twin goals of assuring quality education for the future and equality of opportunity for all. Until this happens, most other talk of educational change will be cheap talk indeed.

Chapter 4: Managing The Educational System

Management can most simply be defined as allocation of resources on the basis of intelligent planning which is in turn, based on pertinent, accurate and sufficient information.

Unfortunately, education in Massachusetts, as we have already seen, lacks adequate resources, has rarely bothered with planning, and generally lacks the ability to collect or disseminate information.⁹

But there is a prior necessity: management also implies the existence of an organization capable of doing the planning and using the information. The MACE studies suggest that organization does not exist, either at the level of the State Department of Education or at the level of the arrangement of school districts, the place, ultimately, where learning does or doesn't happen.

It is not that nothing exists. Rather, what exists is fragmented, uncoordinated, and sometimes chaotic. The overriding question is how to make a coherent educational universe out of this nebula.

The State Of The State Department

Chapter 572 of the General Acts of 1965 spells out the responsibilities of the Board of Education -- responsibilities which are to be

executed through the Department of Education -- as follows:

Section 1G. The purpose of the board shall be to support, serve and plan general education in the public schools.

The board shall be a communication and information center serving all the public schools in the Commonwealth. The board may provide such necessary service to local public schools as are beyond their capacity to support separately.

The board shall provide centralized, state wide, long-range planning service for the public schools.

The board shall provide a common center for the development, evaluation and adaptation of educational innovations for public schools.

In addition, the Board is directed to establish minimum standards for length of school day and school year, personnel qualifications, class size, buildings and curriculum. To assure compliance, the Board is authorized to withhold state funds from any school district not complying with the law or its directives. (This is the power it has occasionally exercised in the one area where leadership has occasionally been visible: enforcing the racial balance law).

In short, the State Department of Education is not weak for lack of formal power. Its mandate is broad and fairly clear. Indeed, the functions it should perform by legislative mandate are precisely those which study after study recommend. The irony is that the General Court, which not only gives the department its mandate,

but also pays for all those studies, has never given the department the means to function as they say it should.

The problem is not simply that the legislature chronically underfinances the department (a good case of penny-wise and pound-foolish). But it has severely constricted the department's ability to spend what funds it does receive with flexibility or impact.

The crunch is hardest at the most critical point: attracting and retaining outstanding personnel. The Gibson study of the department, in fact, gives the highest priority to the following recommendation:

The Department must have authority to hire, retain and promote professional personnel at salary levels that parallel or exceed those of some of the best public schools in the Commonwealth.

The Massachusetts Business Task Force, like Gibson, makes this a recommendation of the highest priority.

Currently, the salary scale simply is not competitive with salaries offered talented educators by local districts and other educational enterprises. The study notes that *during the 18 months between July 1968, and January 1970, there were 59 resignations by professional staff of the Department, usually for higher paying and more prestigious positions in public schools or other educational agencies. Most of these people were promising young educators with about 14 to 16 months of service, just the kind of men and women so desperately needed to give the Department the thrust it requires.*

Not only are salaries low, but the department does not make the final decisions about job

levels, promotions and placement on salary schedules, even within its budget. Rather, these decisions are made by the Bureau of the Budget within the Governor's Executive Office of Administration and Finance. Gibson states that A&F's decisions tend to be *narrow and inflexible*, with the result that often *well-qualified persons with fine credentials cannot be hired or promoted*.

This is a classic case: a bureaucratic, interagency relationship, a problem with low public visibility has created a log jam. Unless that log jam is broken, as the Gibson report stresses, and highly talented personnel can be attracted and retained by the department across the board, it is futile to expect the department to provide outstanding service or leadership to the state's schools. Failure to remedy this is a certain way to maintain the status quo: every district on its own hook, winging it, grasping for information, frequently lacking the capability to plan, duplicating efforts -- those districts blessed by community wealth and concern for education making it, and the others floundering.

To be sure, giving the department flexibility, authority, and funding commensurate with its legal responsibility, will not in itself assure quality performance. But it is a necessary step, one which the Massachusetts Business Task Force, like Gibson, gives the highest priority. Once that step has been taken, there are several others which should follow: The Gibson report has summarized them as four basic priorities:

1) The agency must tighten up frequently sloppy and inefficient management practices -- practices which are to some extent the legacy of its starvation. Particularly critical actions are developing a long range planning capability,

strengthening the department's ability to propose and influence educational legislation (an ability almost totally lacking at present) and modernizing the department's fiscal procedures. The key step in modernization, Gibson suggests, is to base the department's budget on achieving specific goals and objectives, according to carefully considered priorities. Budgeting by objectives -- a so-called program planning budget -- makes it possible for the public (and its representatives, the legislature) to know specifically what the department is trying to achieve.

2) There should be strong efforts to increase the service role to school systems and *minimize the function of the department as a regulator and enforcement agency*. Power in education, like power in bureaucracies, is a curious thing. Bureaucracies do have negative power. They can force things not to happen. They can mess things up. But they cannot order positive accomplishments into existence. No one can force good teaching, relevant instruction, or concern for individual needs and differences. But, a State Department of Education can and should support, assist and facilitate all these goals, and more.

Currently, Gibson suggests, the department spends too much of its time enforcing mandates which lack a clear relationship to learning -- such as the length of the school day or school year. To the extent that the department appears to be a coercive, regulatory agency, local school districts are bound to mistrust state intervention and raise the flag of local control. Of course, there are times when the state department should step in and put a stop to clearly meretricious practices -- such as racial discrimination. But basically, it should provide leadership through collaboration,

support and service of local needs. It should provide leadership which fosters organizational health.

3) To strengthen its ability to deliver services, the department's regional offices should be expanded. The logic behind this recommendation is quite simple. If the department is to tune its operations to the specific needs of local school systems, its professional personnel need to be stationed in the field where they can work directly with those school systems. Boston is not the place to find out what's happening in North Adams.

Ideally, strong regional offices would become the nerve centers of a state information and communications system. They would collect and convey the information necessary for planning and for dissemination of proven innovations. In addition, they would provide technical assistance, Gibson suggests, for *all sorts of collaborative arrangements and assistance for improvement of school administrative and business needs: purchasing, school construction, collective bargaining procedures, special and occupational education services and equipment, planning and evaluation programs, personnel recruitment and placement, and so on*.¹⁰

The Massachusetts Business Task Force estimated that improvement and coordination of school business practices across the state -- in such areas as purchasing, transportation and construction -- could reduce educational costs by six percent. If the regional offices were able to effect that kind of saving -- in the order of \$60 million a year -- they would more than repay the investment in instruction or curriculum. A noticeable improvement in education programs across the state could well result with no added tax burden.

4) One recommendation of the Gibson report that has already been acted upon is that the department undertake a program *calling for the establishment of goals for Massachusetts students, assessment of student achievement with respect to goals, evaluation of schools and accountability by educators and educational decision-makers to the publics they serve.*

Recently, under the leadership of the department, a task force defined the Commonwealth's educational goals. A diligent effort is being made to achieve some sort of effective consensus on these goals. No matter how elegant the goals, of course, they will be worth little if the ability to translate sentiments into operations does not exist.

The evidence up til now is that the state department simply does not have the ability. Because it does not, students suffer. A thorough survey of the state's recent effort in compensatory education reveals this quite clearly.¹¹ The study, directed by Dr. Daniel Jordan of the University of Massachusetts, is extremely critical of the state's efforts to serve disadvantaged students -- a large population that crosscuts all areas of the state. Specific shortcomings cited in Jordan's report are discussed later in this report. Suffice it to say that of 46 recommendations for improvement, 28 require action by the state department.

There is no way, the Jordan report concludes, to escape the conclusions:

- 1) *that strong leadership by the State Department of Education is absolutely essential to the successful implementation of the recommendations of this document, and*
- 2) *that without implementing these*

recommendations, there is no hope of providing equal educational opportunities to the state's disadvantaged children.

No other agency, the report continues, in the state is in such a favorable and strategic position to effect educational change.

The same sentiment is echoed in report after report. The state department must be strengthened.

Reorganizing Local School Districts

Assume, for a moment, that the state department was in a position to serve the school districts of Massachusetts. Would the school districts themselves be organized in a way to capitalize on that service?

The answer given by a number of MACE reports is a ringing *No!*

The tradition of localism, the lack of state initiative and direction and the absence of overall planning have resulted in a maze of local districts and a welter of overlapping jurisdictions that are nightmarish to unravel.

There are two major dimensions to the problem of school district organization. First, smaller districts often lack the wealth of either dollars or information to provide a full range of quality programs. Secondly, the variety of sizes and helter-skelter patterns of district organization make sound planning, communication or administration difficult if not impossible.

The Massachusetts Business Task Force for School Management speaks to the first point:

As business men, we are aware of the problems small businesses encounter in competition with

larger businesses. Although size is only one factor in a successful operation, visits to school systems in Massachusetts, comparisons with developments in other states, and study of the literature, indicate that a great many of the state's school systems are not producing the most effective education value for the dollar expended. There are many studies which show a positive relationship between size, on the one hand, and cost, efficiency, quality, and economy on the other.

Yet, the study points out, during the period 1932 to 1966, while the number of school districts throughout the nations was dropping radically from 127,649 to 26,983, the number in Massachusetts was increasing from 365 to 392.

Today there are almost 400 school districts in the state. Among states of roughly similar population, Florida has 67 basic administrative units; North Carolina has 150 and Virginia has 132.

The Business Task Force's report urges the state department to play a strong role in bringing about the particular form of cooperation between school districts that consolidation means because *fragmented education results in duplication of overhead, lack of program coordination, competition for the tax dollar without planned priorities and competition for personnel in which the better-financed entities tend to prevail.* As the last comment suggests, school district organization, like the state aid formula, is one of those hidden structural factors which tends to increase the gap between rich and poor, between the haves and the have nots.

In addition to eliminating these disadvantages, there are positive benefits possible through consolidation. The task force summarizes

these as follows:

- Greater challenges, higher scholastic achievement, and more efficient use of teaching staffs.
- Construction of facilities at lowest cost to meet needs of the community.
- Use of funds for educational purposes rather than excessive administration costs.
- More capable business management and the resulting economics. Specific examples of this will be found elsewhere in this report, particularly in the sections dealing with transportation, purchasing, libraries, textbooks, and management information systems.
- Special programs at the lowest cost, for all children in need of them.
- School groupings which are financially self sufficient and whose voters can truly be in control of all aspects of their children's education.
- Orderly planning of future developments of the system based on financial projections.
- Establishment of a state aid equalization system which can be easily administered and still make possible equitable results.
- Ability to employ consultants and experts and improve general managerial effectiveness.
- Capability of systems to appraise and employ new educational technology, including machine teaching and other purchased services which promise to free the classroom teacher for

the more important problems caused by the rapidly expanding body of available knowledge. This is an area where substantial savings will be made in the near future.

These are economies and efficiencies of scale that can translate into educational benefits for children. Yet fear of scale -- fear of being swallowed by some bureaucratic-governmental

leviathan -- seems to be a major impediment to school district reorganization. In some ways, that is not an unhealthy fear. A MACE study of the Boston School Department¹² reveals the kind of arthritic and depersonalized system that can result from an unhuman scale.

No one is recommending, however, the creation of heavily centralized monstrosities. In fact, the MACE study of Boston urges strongly



Photo By THE BOSTON GLOBE

that the city's schools be broken down into smaller, more manageable decentralized units that respect the diversity of community needs and interests in that city. The question of *what size is ideal* is, in fact, a moot question. Estimates garnered from various MACE studies range all the way up to 15,000.

The critical consideration is not numbers of students but richness of programs. A school district should be large enough to support a varied, diverse, resource-rich school program, from kindergarten through high school: a program that gives a student choice; an education that is not forced on him because it's the only one available. Indeed, were the state department to develop a set of coherent criteria for quality education, numerical questions could be set aside: any district meeting those criteria would be deemed large enough.

Bigness can cause depersonalization. In America .. it has a habit of doing just that. But there is also a depersonalization that results from small, provincial school districts -- and half of Massachusetts districts serve less than 2,000 pupils. They are candidates for the insidious depersonalization that occurs from limited horizons, lack of opportunities -- school systems, so strapped for funds and other resources that rather than offering an intimate, individualized program sensitive to community character, they offer a sparse, barebones, stereo-typed program, indistinguishable from those in scores of other communities similarly strapped.

Small districts supporting small high schools are, *a great deficiency in school organization in Massachusetts*, according to Dr. Lloyd Michael of Northwestern University.¹³ *High schools with limited enrollments and inadequate resources do not have the capacity to provide the*

excellence and diversity that a truly comprehensive high school can achieve.

The variation in school district size is great indeed, ranging from districts that consist of a four-room school house to Boston's 90,000 pupil conglomerate. That variation is matched, however, by the differences in the kinds of districts and the overlappings of administrative authority.

A prime example of what this means, and the operating confusion that can result, is provided by a MACE study of the school district reorganization problem, directed by Donald T. Donley of Boston College:¹⁴

Five towns, Carlisle, Harvard, Stow, Bolton and Lancaster have seven different school committees, three superintendents and a total of less than 3,500 students. Each of the five towns has its own school committee. There is a school committee for Union # 47 (a consolidated elementary school district) which includes all the towns except Lancaster. The towns of Carlisle, Bolton and Stow operate a kindergarten to grade 8 (K-8) program. The town of Harvard operates a kindergarten to grade 12 (K-12) program. One superintendent serves the four town school committees and also the Union # 47 committee. There is a single school committee for Lancaster, which operates a K-8 program with a superintendent in charge. The seventh school committee with the third superintendent is for the Nashoba Regional High School District, operating a program for students in grade 9-12 who come only from Bolton, Stow and Lancaster. Students in Carlisle attend the Concord-Carlisle Regional High School and students in the town of Harvard remain in their own school system to complete their education through grade 12.

Indeed, *it is not difficult*, as the study remarks, *to see that the evolutionary crazy-quilt pattern, the overlapping of different kinds of educational administrative units and the diversity of school organization structures, render it practically impossible to assure coordination, quality education, equality of opportunity, accountability and economy on a state wide or even regional level.*

To put the problem another way, the issue is whether the state can discern and implement the difference between the kind of diversity that sparks creativity and honors unique needs and the diversity that merely connotes chaos.

Unless this distinction is successfully made, it will be exceedingly difficult for state leadership, planning or information flow to become realities that affect children.

Chapter 5: Planning: Prerequisite For Effective Change

The alternative to sound planning is chaos -- the kind of chaos that marks Massachusetts school districts now. It is a chaos which feeds waste, frustrates coordination, cooperation or articulation as educational modes of operation, thwarts change and by miring the present in confusion, tends to perpetuate the status quo: the habitual is easier than the new in an ambience of clutter and confusion.

Any good plan implies the existence of clear goals and objectives, the distribution of resources according to a strategy for achieving those goals or objectives, and a means of evaluating progress towards those objectives.

A sophisticated planning process goes a step further: it includes within it the means for evaluating not only its progress towards a fixed

set of objectives but also the objectives themselves. And it uses this introspection to stay flexible and alive -- to change with the times and needs of new situations. Otherwise, any planning process is likely to atrophy into the rigidities of a bureaucratic policy manual.

Such sophistication is a long way down the road for Massachusetts, however, because right now, the state lacks even a primitive semblance of educational planning. This shortcoming is evident not only in the state department but also in most local school districts. It is pointed out in study after study.

Its consequences are two-fold. First, a legacy of unplanned growth has produced a cumbersome and diffuse management system that makes it difficult to maintain and deliver fundamental services. Secondly, it is extremely difficult to introduce changes or innovations -- which preeminently require planning.

Consequenceses Of Unplanned Growth

The jumble of school district organizations is a typical example of what happens when growth and development occur without coherent overall planning. This pattern has its corollary in the fragmentation of authority and lack of overall coordination which characterizes educational management at the state level.

A MACE study of early childhood education, currently in progress, finds that responsibility for the education of young children is vested in no less than 14 different state agencies and divisions, with no effective way to coordinate them. For purposes of the state, that is, whole children are sliced and divided into 14 components, and no one has responsibility for putting Humpty-Dumpty back together again.

Photo by Anthony's Studio

A local school district which wants to build a new school has to deal with a like number of state agencies.

A similar fragmentation of responsibility pervades special education in the state, education of mentally or physically handicapped children, with the result that *unless a child has a specific label and is toilet trained*,¹⁵ it is extremely difficult to find a school for him.

To test this proposition, a staff member of MACE study of education for the handicapped child¹⁶ posed as the father of a multiply handicapped five year old: deaf, partially blind and non-toilet-trained. Over a series of days, he was routed and rerouted from one agency to another, in the Department of Education and out, culminating in a series of unanswered and unreturned calls, at which point he threw in the



towel

The typical situation, the study concludes, *involves lack of programs, long waiting lists and conflicting information dispersed by individuals who should be knowledgeable in the area. Frustrations are faced by all, with apparent gross discrepancies in treatment and consultation provided children with similar problems.*

If the problems of the multiply handicapped child seem extreme and obscure, imagine the child with multiple talents or interests — a normal, health fifteen-year-old boy (good hearing, 20-20 vision and toilet-trained) who is interested in going to college but also wants to learn something about carpentry or auto mechanics while he goes to school.

Unless he is exceptionally lucky, it is impossible for him to do both—not because it is an impossible learning feat but simply because schools are not planned and organized that way. Rather, the split between academic and vocational education in Massachusetts, the typical way educators have of thinking about subjects rather than planning for learners, and the resultant lack of program flexibility absolutely prevent it.

At the state level, as at the level of the local school district, education in the Commonwealth has rarely developed according to a rational plan based on the needs of learners. Instead, growth has been a process of accretion, tacking on, rather at random and helter skelter new pieces and components, losing the possibility for coordination and flexibility along the way, substituting the bureaucratic maze for good management.

A Case Study In Failure To Plan: Pupil Services

A particularly clear, almost archetypal, example of this random growth pattern is

provided in a 1969 MACE study of **Pupil Services for Massachusetts Schools**, a study directed by Gordon P. Liddle of the Interprofessional Research Commission on Pupil Personnel Services, and Arthur M. Kroll, then associated with Clark University.

Liddle and Kroll trace the growth of pupil services in Massachusetts back to their origins, over a century ago, to the rise of attendance officers, better known as *truant officers*.

The motive force for growth of these services, they point out, has usually been one social concern or cause or another. Schools have responded on a hit or miss basis to those pressures, failing either to plan ahead and lead in the development of such services or, once the pressure does exist, failing to integrate new services into a coherent plan or organizational framework.

The original truant officers, for instance, were a response to reformers' concern over the exploitation of child labor. Massachusetts passed the first compulsory school attendance act in the nation to get children out of sweat shops and into schools. It was the job of the truant officer to see that the law was carried out.

Over the years, many truant officers have abandoned their *dog catcher* image and tend now to operate more as counselors, working with family problems that keep children from attending school.

What the attendance officer actually does, however, and how or whether he relates to a whole host of other pupil services is a matter of local accident. There is no state department with responsibilities in this area.

Those other services grew out of spasms of public interest, as well. Health services were added to the schools in another pioneering

Massachusetts step, under direction of the State Department of Health, with the creation of the school nurse. Here the motive force was the wake of the Civil War, Liddle and Kroll report, with its *wandering homeless, incurable wounded and pestilent prison camps*.

The immigrant tide of the first two decades of this century, combined with increasing urbanization, stimulated the social conscience of some citizens and alarmed others. This was *fertile ground for the creation of additional services*, Liddle and Kroll suggest, and in 1915, a Department of Vocational Guidance was established in the Boston School Department--again, a national first. The same year saw creation in the State Department of Health of a Division of Hygiene, responsible for infant mortality, child welfare, industrial hygiene, health instruction and medical examination of school children. Liddle and Kroll remark: *The accumulation of separate agencies responsible for the needs of school children was definitely underway.*

And so it continued, decade by decade.

In the Depression years, Federal funds stimulated creation of vocational counseling in the public schools, funds administered by an autonomous division of the State Department of Education. Later in the 1930's, the State Department of Education appointed a supervisor for special education, responsible for education of the physically handicapped and mentally retarded. However, traveling teams, certified as school psychologists by the Department of Mental Health, were responsible for diagnosing retardation, and frequently that certification was on the basis of a couple of college psychology courses.

In the forties, the State Department of

Education created an office for Occupational Placement and Follow-Up—which had no formal relationship to the previously established office for Occupational Information and Vocational Guidance.

In the 1950's, the state's Youth Services Board was created, and a new kind of counselor emerged – the school adjustment counselor who worked with troubled elementary school pupils. Then Sputnik gave rise to the National Defense Education Act and more funds were available for counseling. Pearl Buck's book, *The Child That Never Grew*, and the formation of the National Association for Retarded Children, were among forces that led to creation of a Division of Special Education within the state department in Massachusetts and elsewhere.

The fifties and sixties saw some sporadic efforts to pull this maze of agencies together, efforts which generally stalled when General Court action was required. Even special education, which has had a strong and effective lobby, is handicapped by vagueness in the law which results in untrained guidance counselors, under the direction of other branches of the department, performing the job of psychologists. Furthermore, *Liddle and Kroll state, staff growth on the state level has not kept pace with local needs, and the necessity for spending the major proportion of their time approving local reimbursement has greatly limited their influence in the sphere of improvement and innovation.*

As this brief history suggests, spurts of public interest, accidents of time and place, and random local initiative have been the substitute for planning in the state. This places the education system in the position of constantly responding, constantly bringing up the rear, rather than

leading. Furthermore, efforts to consolidate the gains of the past, eliminate anachronisms, or project future needs rarely take place.

When responsibilities for a single task become diffused among a myriad of agencies and offices, vested interest and inter- (or intra-) agency politics always make it tough to reassemble them. However, strong leadership from the top, coupled with public support for reorganization, can undo some of the tangles that have developed.

In instances where two or more offices in the state department overlap in function, a simple reorganization can end the confusion. Where more than one state agency is involved, reorganization may not be possible. But commissions, representing each of the concerned agencies, can be created to provide overall policy coordination and direction. The various MACE reports urge that these bodies be created.

Case Study Of Contemporary Bad Planning: Compensatory Education in Massachusetts

Cleaning up the mess created by bad planning over the years is one thing. Learning how to plan for new programs is another, and it is a crucial need.

Jordan's survey of compensatory education in the state pinpoints the need to have, as the study title puts it, a *blueprint for action*. Compensatory education is aimed at improving the education offered students from low income families, students who have traditionally received the weakest education, and it is a particularly good case in point for four reasons:

- *The problem is a large one, affecting most school districts, and hence representative of the*

overall capabilities of the state.

- *The funding for compensatory programs, with a few minor exceptions, is a product of Federal monies over the last five years. Hence, the data have present day relevance.*

- *There is a clear role for the state department as well as for local school districts, so the entire system is tested. (Federal funds flow through the state to local districts.)*

- *Compensatory education requires changes in the existing system.*

Thus, it presents a test of the state's preparedness to innovate. The last of these points, particularly, needs clarification. The Jordan study estimates that 135,000 students in Massachusetts schools come from families that are considered economically disadvantaged. One hundred thousand – close to 10 percent of the overall public school population – are served by the 466 compensatory education projects, in 305 of the state's 389 school districts.

These are children for whom school has usually been, by all conventional standards, a series of frustrations and failures. It is obvious then that the conventional school experience fails these children. Something different has to happen.

Yet, in Massachusetts (as in many other states), Jordan observes, compensatory education is usually a patchwork of remedial and enrichment programs. That is to say, it is *standard brand* education, only the doses are a little heavier (remedial work) and a few fringe benefits are thrown in (a trip to the orchestra).

This kind of education, the study concludes, is not producing significant results of a lasting value in sufficient numbers of students fast enough to deal with a problem that has already

reached vast proportions and is still growing at an alarming rate.

The Need For Clear Objectives

The Jordan data show that compensatory education programs in Massachusetts are for the most part *programs which do not focus on developing competent learners and which are, therefore, not being maximally effective*. At first glance, it seems odd that any educational venture is not aimed at developing *competent learners*. But a careful look at many education practices reveals a crucial distinction -- one Jordan is driving at -- between programs established to teach something (e.g., French, U.S. history, metal work) and programs which are aimed at helping students learn to learn, whatever the subject matter.

(It is worth noting that many students of education are convinced that in the future, due to rapid growth and change of knowledge in our society, learning to learn will have to be the primary outcome of education.)

What does planning have to do with this? Again, by definition, planning means developing clear objectives (e.g., *competent learners*), developing strategies for achieving those objectives (e.g., well trained teachers, sound programs) and developing and utilizing evaluation methodologies.

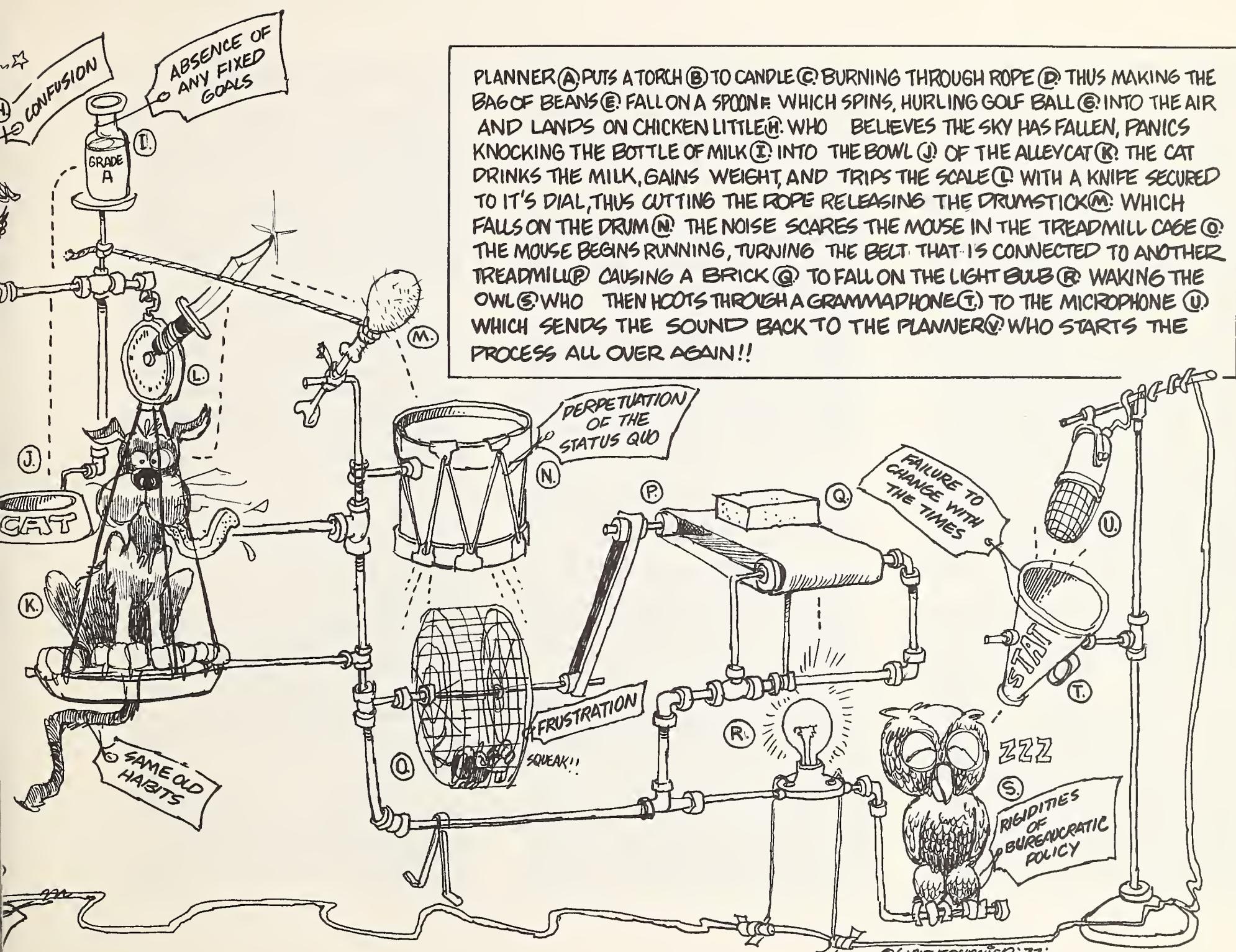
All this would seem as obvious and basic as the desirability of competent learners. Yet, Jordan's study concludes that the *four basic characteristics of compensatory education* in Massachusetts are:

- *Lack of explicit objectives, operationally defined which deal with the basic problems of the disadvantaged child;*

- *Lack of sound designs for evaluating*

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programs so that they can be continually improved;

- Lack of model compensatory education programs which demonstrate appropriate curricula and effective teaching methods;
- A critical shortage of well-trained compensatory education manpower.

Despite his finding of a lack of well-trained personnel, only half the projects had any pre-service training for their staffs, and *what staff training there was frequently did not focus directly on the project objectives and usually lasted only one or two days.* Despite a substantial body of educational research that demonstrates the important influence of home life on student achievement, 62 percent of the projects *had not taken into consideration the influence of the home on the learning of Title I students in the way in which the program was set up.* Despite a substantial amount of research on the importance of community involvement to the success of compensatory education programs, Jordan found that 66 percent of the projects from which data were available indicated no community involvement.

In other words, neither at the state level nor at the local school district level, did planning play a vital role. With such gaping holes in the educational system, it is not surprising that Charles Silberman, in *Crisis in the Classroom*, tabs the *central problem* of American education as *this mindlessness – the failure or refusal to think seriously about educational purpose.* For thinking seriously about educational purpose is precisely what planning and evaluation are all about.

Jordan's recommendations on how to plug these holes have relevance on the face of it for any piece of the education system. Moreover,

they suggest the kinds of steps that need to be taken to insure planning at both local and state levels.

First, he suggests that the state department exercise leadership by making *the development of effective and competent learners the required main objective* of all compensatory education programs. The state, that is, would require evidence from local school districts that they had thought about purpose, that they had done some planning, before passing on the funds.

Secondly, the state should provide technical assistance to local districts requesting it in developing objectives and programs to meet them. Thirdly, the state should insist on evaluation designs and, again, provide technical assistance where required in drawing up and implementing those designs.

In such matters, clearly, planning would take place in partnership, with the local school district making the major qualitative decisions. But there are some areas where only the state has the leverage or the resources to act: development of model programs, for instance, or altering the teacher education practices of the state colleges so that availability of well trained teachers won't rely on local districts running good in-service programs.

In many cases, as already suggested, the state department lacks the resources to do sound planning. In the case of compensatory programs, however, something else has been lacking. In 1968-69, according to the Jordan report, the state received \$167,965 from the Federal Government to administer compensatory education programs. But at the end of the year, it had spent less than half that amount. Slightly over \$90,000 was shipped back to Washington.

Information: The Lifeline

Information is as important a resource to schools as money. Effective planning, useful evaluation, accountability of educators to the public, good management, curricular improvement and innovation and, indeed, learning itself are intimately related to both the sufficiency of information and the existence of effective ways to process information.

Currently, Massachusetts possesses neither sufficient information nor a good way to process it. The Massachusetts Business Task Force and the Gibson report both stress the critical need for developing information systems. These reports reinforce the conclusions of a 1968 MACE study directed by Information Management, Inc. of Cambridge, which unearthed considerable information about the dearth of it in Massachusetts.

That study found the State Department of Education without an adequate retrieval system to utilize what data it did have filed away. Throughout the state, it found pervasive complaints about lack of information concerning population, finances, actual programs in operation or curricular developments. There was little evidence of communication within school districts, among school districts or between school districts and the state department. When information was received, it was *often too late to be of value.*

The study points to an additional liability which is the result of poor information systems, a liability already mentioned in this report.

Quoting the Willis-Harrington Commission, the study says:

(Local school officials) have no thorough and current information about comparable, competitive school districts, no accurate means of knowing how their own school operation stacks up against the rest of the Commonwealth. It is this comparative, competitive information which furnishes the driving power for politics. For lack of it local school committees and administrators have foregone untold thousands and millions of local dollars they might otherwise have raised by fully informed, hard hitting local school budget campaigns.

There is no need here to discuss the technology of information systems. The technological expertise exists. But it is worth stressing, once again, that the question of a good information system, like the question of a well managed educational system, is a matter of all the components working together. A break down in any one part of the system effects the whole.

Thus, the state department has to be strong enough, effective enough and well enough organized to gather information from local school districts, as well as from other states and the growing body of educational research. And it has to be able to make intelligent judgments, on the basis of that information, that are translated into plans.

But an information system is a two-way street. Someone has to gather and disperse it--and that's a logical job for the state department--but someone also has to be there to receive it. That requires a rational system of school district reorganization.

The Governor recently appointed a Commission, in full collaboration with the Advisory Council and the Board of Education, to

study school district organization.

To summarize, the MACE studies make it obvious that improvements in the management of education, from the state department to local school districts, from money to data, are first steps in any effort to develop an outstanding educational system.

State action is a necessary ingredient. The state department will have to exercise leadership both in such matters as speeding up school district reorganization and presenting the legislature with sound measures for the financing of education. But the real key lies in the General Court itself. The legislature ultimately has the power to reward or coerce local school districts to reorganize. The legislature commands the purse strings and the legislature also will have to act to empower the state department to execute the sensible and crucial responsibilities which the legislature, again, has said belong to it.

Chapter 6: The Dynamics Of Dehumanization

The MACE studies are critical of education in Massachusetts, but they are not high pitched, chthonic, *our-children-are-dying* criticism. In part, perhaps, this is because apocalyptic criticism suggests the possibility of revolutionary change. The authors of the MACE studies know better.

Nonetheless, the MACE studies gradually peel the veneer off the system, and of the many flaws revealed, the most damning is this: the educational system of the state too often fails to consider the reason for its existence: students.

There is Jordan's observation, for instance, that the compensatory education programs fail to focus on developing *competent learners*. But

there are a number of other for instances.

- From the Schaefer-Kaufman report, a study of occupational education:¹⁷

The framework in which the problem is considered can be described in terms of a four-fold classification: (1) the college bound, about one-third of a normal school population; (2) those with firm vocational goals, about five to eight percent; (3) the disadvantaged, about five to ten percent; (4) those for whom school is non-relevant, about 40 to 60 percent.

- From Lloyd Michael's study of the high schools of the state:

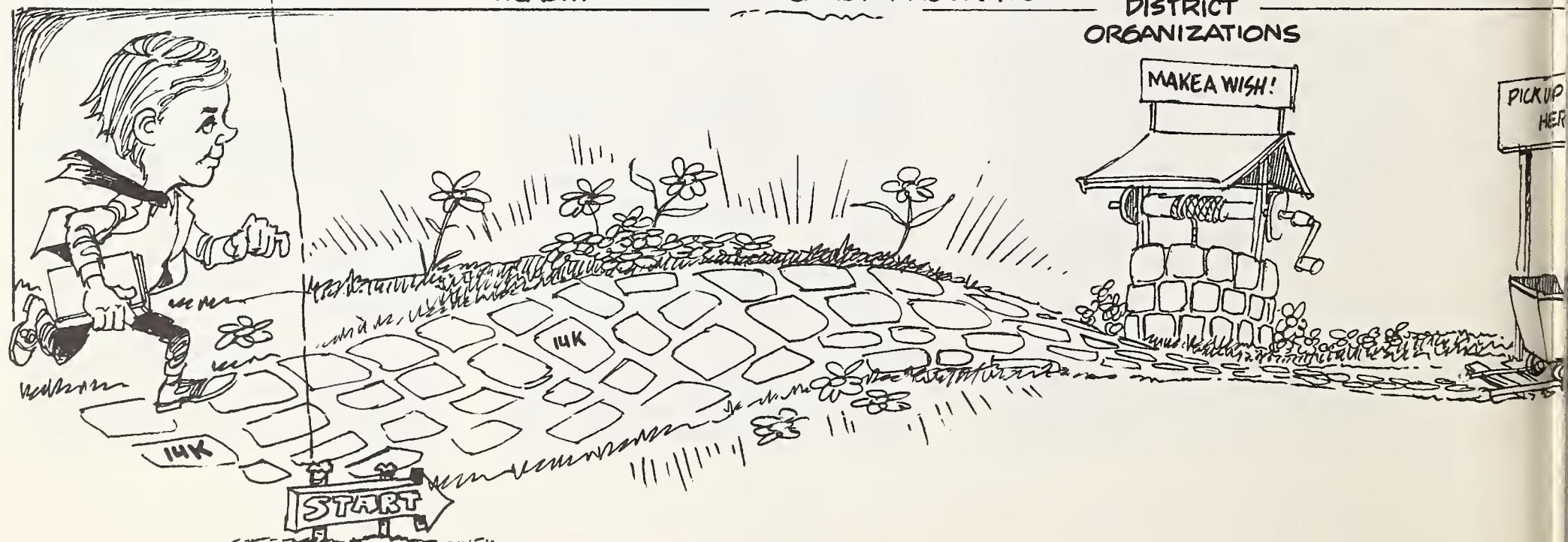
Most of the high schools of Massachusetts are well organized and administered to have students scheduled uniformly and to have those in the same courses follow similar patterns of study. The evidence from the study indicates, however, that administrators, teachers and students would welcome less uniformity and increased diversity in patterns of study. More than half of the 2,748 student respondents reported there is little freedom, much regimentation for them...to exercise initiative to work independently by pursuing a variety of learning opportunities...One-third of the 1,821 teacher respondents characterized the time available to work with individual pupils as negative or very negative.

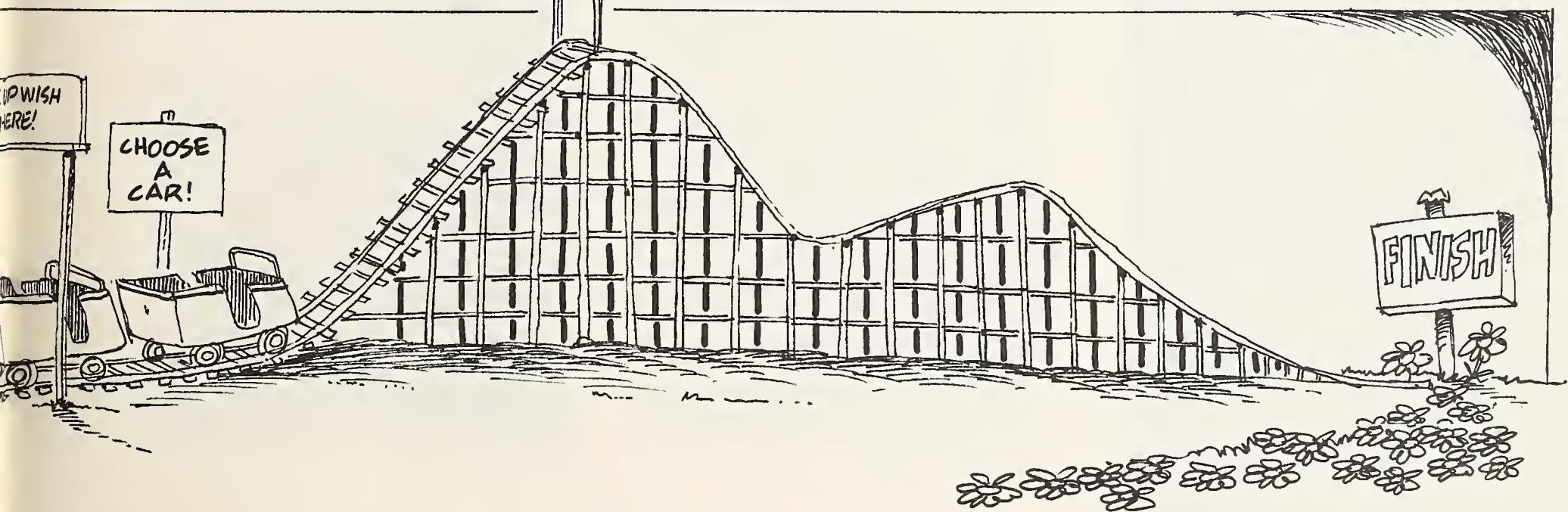
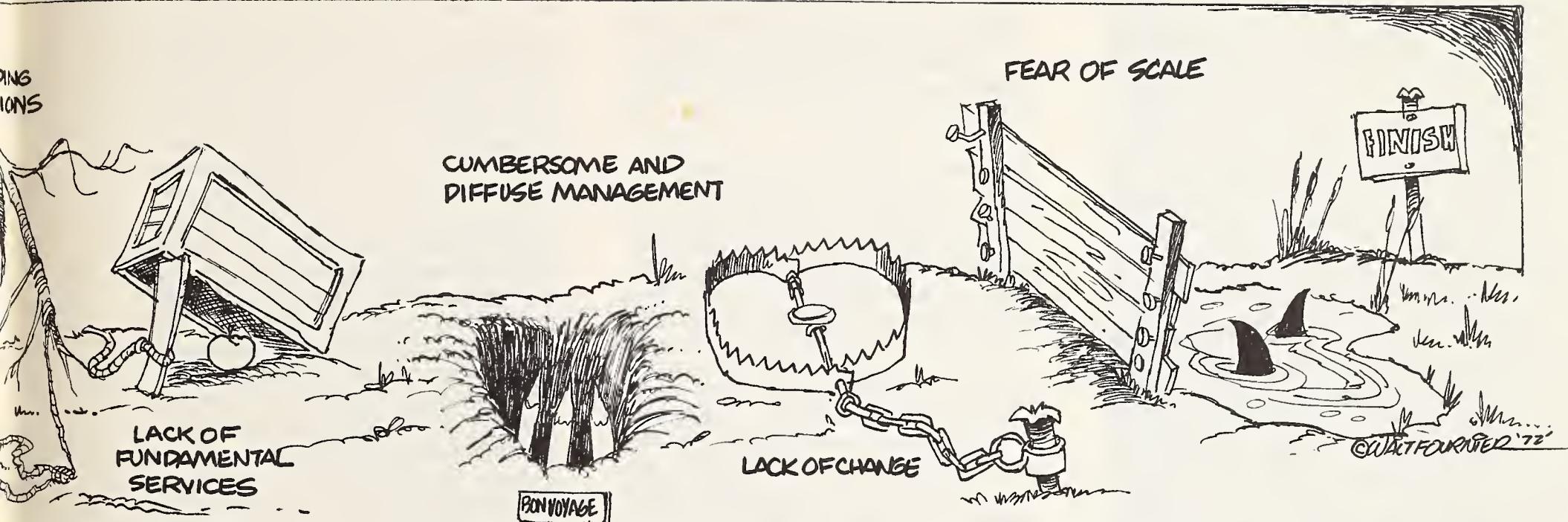
Michael also found that 44 percent of students were *frequently indifferent* about going to school, while another 30 percent said they often *dread* or *always dislike* going to school.

From Liddle and Kroll's study of pupil services: More attention must be given to deleterious school conditions which rob children of their individuality. We must seek opportunities to

SCHOOL DISTRICTS: TO HAVE OR NOT TO HAVE!!

OVER LAPPING
JURISDICTION





stress individuality. We must seek opportunities to stress individuality rather than adopt a mass production assembly line view of students. Our educational program must become more sensitive to the pressure on students at school, in the home and in the larger society. Where the school is not dealing with relevant issues, pupil services should raise those issues. Pupil services should be the student advocacy voice in the adult community.

Pupil services servicing pupils by advocating their needs! Certainly that revolutionary recommendation seems reasonable, but instead, Liddle and Kroll report a collective closed mind among guidance counselors and pupil service workers who are preoccupied with perpetuating professional ideologies or maintaining the present school structure, particularly the pervasive use of placing students in tracks.

- From Gibson's study of the state department, the most blunt comment:

Our inquiries within (the Department of Education) and among educators and publics throughout the Commonwealth reveal a remarkable absence of mention of students and of school services which can advance student achievement and thus life opportunities and options. The Department of Education and most other bureaucratic contrivances associated with education in Massachusetts are simply not oriented towards the basic premise of this study – that schools are for students.

These and similar observations sprinkled through the MACE reports imply a nasty term: dehumanizing. It is a term that is often used loosely, and it is particularly nasty because the implication often seems to be that nobody cares.

That kind of blanket indictment of the educators of the state can't be supported. But there is strong evidence that many of the organizational habits and practices of the state tend to have the end result of dehumanization.

Case Study: The Structure of Dehumanization

The point can be illustrated by an extreme example: the four state operated schools for the mentally retarded. It may seem unfair to pick on an extreme--and egregious--example to make a general point about the educational system. The virtue of an extreme example, however, is that it casts a problem in bold relief, not obscured by the cloak of normal operations.

Furthermore, the MACE study of education for the handicapped by Burton Blatt which surveys these four schools,¹⁸ is much more explicit than most on the relationship between structural deficiencies and inadequacies of the system and their outcome in the daily lives of young people. It translates frequently abstract summary conclusions of reports and surveys into the concrete horrors – the word is not too strong – of flesh and blood schools.

For instance, it does not stir much fervor to read that Massachusetts' programs for the mentally retarded and physically handicapped get *grades* of about 50 in such areas as teacher preparation, planning and certification, lesson quality, consultative and supervisory assistance, or overall planning and coordination of services: weaknesses similar to those in most other parts of the state's education system.

But consider this scene:

Phil is taken into the bathroom where he is washed with a large towel dipped in a two gallon bucket of soapy water. He smiles throughout the

process and tries to keep his face away from the soap. The aide hoses him off with a garden hose and Phil laughs and smiles as if it is all a game, turning and holding his hands above his head. The aide quickly shoves him back in the cool dayroom after drying off his face superficially. Phil keeps trying to go back into the bathroom, but one of the residents is guarding the door and keeps him out. As the other residents are lined around the bathroom wall and washed as a group, Phil paces around the dayroom till he is dry. The residents are shuttled into the bedroom from the shower where they get into beds without being dressed. Mr. B, the aide, locks the bedroom door and remains in the dayroom with Phil and three others. He comments, That didn't take long, about 30 minutes. I like to do them in a bunch, it keeps them from getting cold.

Phil is a mentally retarded youth in one of four state operated schools for the retarded. Earlier in the day, he was transferred into a ward for the most severely retarded on orders of a ward matron, who observed:

Phil will be transferred to a different building this afternoon. He just doesn't fit in here. He'll be happier with his own kind. I can just imagine him eating our tropical fish. We've put a lot of our own money in these fish. The state doesn't buy these drapes and decorations.

This is simply one example among many, gleaned from weeks of observation at these state schools, of the *rapid dehumanization* which occurs from the first day of institutionalism.

Phil is one of many retarded children whose careers in the state's four schools were followed by close observation. His treatment was replicated in instance after instance. In fact, Blatt found the schools so hopeless he recommended

they be closed.

Granted that the schools are egregious examples, the underlying dynamics which Blatt identified as the source of dehumanization are worth looking at: they are worth the look because they parallel the kinds of managerial and structural problems which other MACE reports note in passing.

Blatt identifies these contributing features:

- A hierarchy exists within which those who are better paid, better dressed and most highly trained have the least contact with the daily lives of the individuals housed in the wards. *Many of the patients, in fact, wander around in the nude -- not because they are given freedom but rather because the staff is too lazy to dress them.*

- A large percentage of the financial investment in the facility is at the front of the huge complex, thus creating a mask of humaneness and adequacy for the entering resident and his parents. *The parents are met by the better paid, better dressed staff in pleasantly decorated reception rooms, receiving a deceptive and false impression of the setting to which they are committing their child.*

- *Aides and professional staff eat meals by themselves or off the grounds. The inmates, on the other hand, are herded into the eating area where names are forgotten and individuality curtailed. Everyone eats the same thing at the same time at the same place.*

- *As the example of Phil suggests inmates are assigned to various wards, as much for convenience of staff, as for benefit of the patients.*

- *Although verbal stimulation is crucial to the development of retarded children, the study found little or none in the wards of the four state*

schools. In other words, there is little or no application of educational research to practice.

- *The meaningless routines the residents follow produce a sense of timelessness. Blatt writes:*

Daily life of the residents is arranged to accommodate employee shifts and assure ease of operations rather than according to culturally accepted norms. This is particularly true with respect to bedtime and time of rising. There seems to be a set of mechanical procedures which each shift of employees must accomplish. Interspersed between these procedures are long periods of just watching.

The study cites analogies between these conditions and similar institutions which epitomize dehumanization: mental hospitals, concentration camps, the totalitarian state. It does not attempt, on the other hand, to trace parallels in educational institutions in general. But there are some very suggesting similarities:

Most educational institutions do have a hierarchy in which the better paid have the least contact with children. Substantial investments are often made in school facilities -- investments in hardware which exceed investment in software -- and there is frequent concern about the face the school presents its community, its image. Staff rarely eat with students and have, in fact, a variety of privileged spaces (lounges, bathrooms, dining rooms) which exist to segregate them from students. Research is rarely related to practice (as Jordan points out). Rigid schedules often prevail, forcing everyone to do more or less the same thing at the same time, with little or no relationship to development of competent learners.

Photo By Mark Silber



The question arises: are the state schools for the mentally retarded deviant aberrations or rather caricatures of schooling in general?

Blatt does not address that question. However, he does raise some questions about schools for *normal* children--and, indeed, about the entire practice of labeling children--that suggests another source of dehumanization.

Blatt is especially critical of the tendency of virtually all Massachusetts school systems to label and isolate handicapped children from the mainstream. He urges that the goal of education for handicapped children should be their integration into community life, insofar as possible. *Services for the total child within the total school community must be provided*, he states. Labeling and isolation encourage stigmatization and decrease the likelihood of the handicapped finding a place in either the total school community or the community beyond.

The trend must be to move away from the current connotation of special education, the study concludes. *Perhaps the most far-reaching implication (of the study) is that the special class as it usually exists in practice--i.e., total isolation of the group--should be abolished. In this way, all education for all children would be special.*

It should be stressed that Blatt is not recommending that handicapped children simply be dumped in regular classes. To the contrary, he believes that in some systems *the regular classes are often inferior and the children would not be gaining anything through integration*. But he is recommending that experience shared in common with other children as well as separate programs to meet special individual requirements are needed. To accomplish that goal, rigid rules cannot be followed. Rather, each school must be flexible enough to build its program around the

learning needs of each child.

This would seem to be a desirable goal for any child in any school. Yet, Blatt found that many special education teachers who were striving towards the goal of comprehensive integrated programs were frustrated by principals and other educators who at best tolerated but rarely actively supported their efforts. Too often, he found, the labeling and isolating of children was desired by educators. In a significant number of cases, the labels were inaccurate. In one extreme instance, a 10-year-old boy was labeled emotionally disturbed by a Boston principal and excluded from school. Subsequent examinations by qualified psychologists found the boy normal and quite capable of learning in school. The principal, however, insisted that the psychologists were wrong. Not only did he refuse to readmit the student, but he called up administrators of nearby schools and warned them not to admit the child. He became one of thousands of out-of-school children in Boston.

While extreme, this case was no isolated example. A study of 21 children whose families had recently migrated from the south to the South End of Boston showed over half were incorrectly labeled *emotionally disturbed* or *mentally retarded*. Surveying children excluded from school, Blatt reports *that many of those excluded who had no previous contact with the law had records within six months of exclusion*.

James B. Conant's famous phrase comes to mind: social dynamite. Students who are categorized and treated like objects begin to act like objects. When a human being is reduced to a *thing*, he is always a dangerous *thing*.

In Massachusetts, some children are labeled retarded, some emotionally disturbed. Others are

simply called *slow learners* or *non-academic*. They are not placed in special schools or rejected by the system totally. Instead, they are placed in *tracks*, which too often are one-way chutes to an educational graveyard.

Chapter 7: Schools and Teachers for Students

Schools for students, human schools with quality instruction and equality of opportunity require three basic elements: adequate resources; access to those resources for students; and respect and concern for students as individuals.

That respect and concern is something that cannot be bought, taught or mandated. However, it is either nourished or discouraged by the availability and management of resources.

It is for this reason, as this report has already stressed, that statewide leadership, improved funding, rational consolidation and reorganization of districts are important. Without them, the likelihood of effective local school programs is diminished.

However, in the final analysis, it is the local school district, the individual school, the teacher in the classroom, which determine what kind of education any particular student receives.

Thus, far, two MACE studies have addressed head-on the question of instructional opportunities generally available throughout the state. Both focus on secondary school, and their recommendations are highly complementary, and rarely complimentary. These studies are Lloyd Michael's study of the high schools of the state and the Schaefer-Kaufman study of vocational and technical education.

Adequacy of Resources

Both the Michael and the Schaefer-Kaufman

reports cite the inadequacies and inequities of funding that characterize Massachusetts education generally. Beyond that, however, they point to a number of other conditions which make resources inadequate, or mitigate against their maximum use.

A very basic problem cited by Michael is size of school. Thirty percent of the state's 300 high schools have enrollements of less than 500 students, Michael reported, and another 29 percent have enrollments of less than 1,000. Small high schools, frequently a consequence of small districts, simply cannot afford to provide the array of services and offerings which constitute what Michael defines as the criteria for a school that is *widely comprehensive and provides quality education for all its students*.

These criteria include:

(1) *a broad program of general education for all students;*

(2) *an excellent program for students who plan to further their formal education in college or other post-secondary institutions;*

(3) *a quality program of occupational education for those students who plan to terminate their formal education with graduation from high school;*

(4) *an appropriate program of special education for handicapped students and remedial programs for students with academic deficiencies;*

(5) *an effective program of pupil personnel service;*

(6) *an extensive program of school activities and*

(7) *a high degree of flexibility and adaptability in its offerings and administrative practices so that students have many options depending upon their individual needs and*

changing educational and vocational plans.

To meet the first six of these criteria requires an organization which is economically viable.

To achieve the seventh, however, demands an organization which is humanly viable. And without "a high degree of flexibility and adaptability" providing students options according to their changing needs and plans, the other six criteria are emasculated.

Economic viability, Michael believes, depends on reorganization of school districts into units sufficiently large to support high schools, sufficiently large to contain a broad range of programs and facilities. But, he makes clear that economic viability cannot be achieved at sacrifice of concern for student individuality. On the contrary, Michael urges that large comprehensive high schools be administratively organized into a *substructure of smaller schools or houses so that students, teachers, and counselors might be grouped into smaller organizations to increase personal awareness and extend the contact between students and faculties.*

For instance, a high school of 2,000 students can be administered as four schools for 500 students, with special facilities (e.g., science labs; stages; machine shops) and special course offerings (e.g., Chinese history, astronomy) shared by all four.

Beyond such administrative arrangements, Michael makes several other recommendations which are essential for fostering a human climate in school:

- Involvement of students in planning their own education.
- Shared decision making by administrators, sharing not only with teachers but also, where appropriate, with students, parents and members

of the community at large.

- Schools which provide students opportunities for self direction and responsibility be breaking *the lockstep of time and space*. Michael found many of the state's high schools saddled with *extremely rigid and inflexible schedules*. Schools can escape the twin tyrannies of time and space, he suggests, by implementing such alternatives as flexible schedules, independent study, work-experience programs, community service programs, extended school day or school year, classrooms without walls and the open campus plan.

Rather than proscribing the ideal high school, Michael recommends that such alternatives should be fitted to the needs of each community. Thus, he stresses the importance of clear goal setting and planning for each high school within the context of the overall state goals. This process should include students, parents and teachers as well as administrators and school committee members, and it should be a process which permits continual revision.

The Most Critical Problem: Occupational Education

The Michael study reveals many problems, suggest many alternatives. Yet, on one point, it is most insistent: that is, *the most pressing and critical curriculum problem confronting most high schools is the development of an effective, functional curriculum in occupational education.*

On this point, the Michael study and the Schaefer-Kaufman report dovetail. To fill the void, Schaefer and Kaufman propose establishment of a *Careers Development Program* — a concept Michael supports.

The concept of career development is based on the premise that only a small percentage of

students — college bound or vocational — actually have any clear sense of what career they, wish to pursue. Currently, however, most high school students are either forced into highly specific and constricted training for a particular occupation, or they take a college preparatory curriculum which gives them little or no sense of career possibilities, (even though only one of every two students who enter college completes four years). Their third possibility is the general curriculum.

A school system embracing the careers development concept would provide introductory and exploratory probes of the world of work from the early grades on. At the high school level, the careers development program would consist of a combination of academic subjects with more intensive exploration of a variety of job possibilities within occupational clusters. In the final two years, intensive vocational or technical training would be available for those relatively few with firm and clear career plans. For those definitely going on to college, the possibility would still remain for exploring trade, craft or technical areas which interested them.

Schaefer and Kaufman estimate that at least half the students currently enrolled in straight vocational education courses would be better served by a career development program. Their conclusion is based on data that suggests at least 50 percent of the students currently enrolled in vocational programs (some 25,000) lack either the interest or the aptitude to benefit from specific career training. In part, this may be a result of their finding that vocational students receive the least counseling of any group of students. But it also suggests, as they conclude, that many teenagers simply are not ready to

make a career choice — particularly if that choice is thrust upon them at the ninth or tenth grade level.

The final argument for a career development program is that in addition to providing students with a broader range of options during their school years, it may assist them in keeping their options open after school. Efforts to gear vocational training to actual labor market demands are usually quite primitive. Even if they are sophisticated, they are doomed to limited efficacy: economic conditions change, employers switch locations, existing industries become obsolete and new ones take their place. But the schools are left with expensive shops, without the capital outlay required to convert them for newer occupations. Machine tool operators keep getting trained after the tool making companies leave town. Partly as a result of this factor, only about half of the vocational graduates in the state actually end up employed in the trade for which they were prepared. (This figure is duplicated across the nation.)

Given these facts, Schaefer and Kaufman urge a dramatic shift in the nature of the regional-vocational-technical high schools which now provide the bulk of occupational education in the Commonwealth. Instead of four year vocational preparation, they suggest that these institutions form a network of *Institutes for Educational Development*. With proper planning, the 30 regional-vocational-technical schools planned for the Commonwealth could become 30 institutes, at least one within 30 miles of every student in the state.

The institutes would provide intensive and specific career training in the final two years of high school for those students with definite career plans. In addition, they could become

resource centers for teacher training and development of curricular approaches needed to strengthen the occupational and career development offerings of comprehensive high schools.

Schaefer and Kaufman made their recommendations in 1968. At that time, there were six regional schools in operation. Today, there are 12. The careers development concept has the strong support of a new Commissioner of Occupational Education in the State Department of Education, but neither it nor the full-fledged comprehensive high school have yet to make significant inroads. Among many vocational-technical educators, Schaefer-Kaufman is a dirty word.¹⁹ So is the phrase *comprehensive highschool*.

It would be a mistake to blame this seeming recalcitrance solely on the attitudes of the vocational education establishment. Rigidities in the legislation (Federal and State) financing vocational education make it difficult to fund a broad and flexible vocational education program. The legislation needs to be changed.²⁰ Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that the professionals running so-called "comprehensive" high schools frequently give vocational education short shift. Schaefer and Kaufman report that vocational students frequently feel teachers and their classmates have a *condescending* attitude towards them. An indication of this is that they receive less counseling. The image of vocational education as a *dumping ground* is still in evidence.

Schaefer and Kaufman warn, in fact, that the ideal of the comprehensive school — a microcosm of a truly democratic society where students from diverse backgrounds with diverse interests and talents meet and rub shoulders in an

atmosphere of mutual respect is far more frequently found in speeches and pamphlets than in reality. A careers development program or a truly comprehensive high school, however they are structured, both seek to establish this ideal as actual. To do so is to take a first step toward maximizing student options.

The Teaching of Teachers

Obviously, inadequately prepared teachers or teachers who are unable to reach students can ruin the best designed program. And while the MACE reports make it clear that, too often, the educational programs of the state are not the best designed, they are equally insistent in calling for changes and improvements in teacher preparation.

In part, the need to change teacher education reflects the need for other changes. The careers development approach is a case in point. It requires teachers, Schaefer and Kaufman point out, who *can accept and approve of the students on their own merits. Most teachers evaluate youngsters on their ability to do college work. This standard is, of course, totally inappropriate to the large proportion of students who require an occupationally-oriented curriculum.* Similarly, Blatt's recommendation to integrate handicapped youngsters into the normal life of schools requires that teachers become more sensitive to the needs and particular learning requirements of such children. And the same can be said, as Jordan urgently says it, for a large number of students who stand to benefit from compensatory education.

The state-- and specifically the State Department of Education--has a major role to play in improving the quality of teacher

education. It is in the best position to influence the state colleges and other institutions preparing teachers. It has the power to influence teacher training programs. Individual school districts do not! The State Department can (in theory) provide the coordination and guidance that relate the needs of school systems to the programs of colleges and universities. Most important, it has the legal authority through its responsibility for certifying teachers.

In developing laws governing teacher certification, Massachusetts abandoned custom; rather than being the first in the nation, it was the last. The state's first legislation requiring certification of teachers was passed in 1951. (However, Massachusetts was the first state to offer college programs aimed at preparation of teachers.)

A MACE study, directed by Dr. Lindley J. Stiles, has these harsh words to say about the certification policies that have developed in the last 20 years:²¹

Present standards and procedures for certifying educational personnel in Massachusetts are inadequate. They fail to guarantee that all licensed to practice in various educational positions will be competent. Nor do they differentiate between levels of professional performance. No provision is made to protect against professional obsolescence. The emphasis on specific course requirements tends to block experimental efforts to improve teacher education in colleges and also repels some able persons from entering educational work. Some qualified and experienced teachers from other states and countries find it difficult or impossible to be licensed in Massachusetts. The existing system of certification may operate, at least in public schools where licenses are required, to

reduce the supply and in some ways, the quality of educational personnel -- an outcome the opposite of its intended purpose.

The Stiles' report emphasizes two basic flaws in current certification practices. First, the criteria for certification are purely bureaucratic. They consist of course counting. Enough of the courses with the proper name and you are a certified teacher -- without regard for the quality of the courses. Secondly, certification embraces the twin fallacies that *once a teacher, always a teacher, and a teacher is a teacher is a teacher.*

In other words, a teacher who receives certification at age 22 on the basis of course credits is certified for life -- whether or not at age 55 he or she has kept abreast of the developments of the last three decades. Furthermore, while certification does differentiate between specialities (e.g., secondary English teacher, elementary teacher, guidance counselor, special education teacher), there is no effort to discriminate between teachers of differing ability.

Emphasis on prescribed courses discourages innovation in teacher education institutions and, most important, ignores the demonstrable fact that the best way to learn to teach is to teach. Stiles urges much more stress on practice teaching during preservice preparation. Certification itself should be based ultimately on demonstrated teaching performance, as well as knowledge.

The *once a teacher, always a teacher* syndrome ignores the need for teachers to change and grow in the course of their careers. Stiles recommends, therefore, that certification be for limited periods of time, with renewal required periodically. To make this recommendation

effective, the renewal requirement would have to be supplemented by collaborative efforts of local school districts, the State Department of Education, and colleges and universities, to increase and upgrade in-service education for teachers.

It is the state which must establish minimum standards. *In general, Stiles writes, states that maintain the highest standards for professional practice attract the greatest numbers of talented persons seeking employment.*

But, as Stiles also remarks, the state cannot do it alone. State officials are farthest from the day to day situation where teachers actually teach. Thus, local school districts (as well as university and college supervisors) must take responsibility for evaluating the actual quality of performance. Stiles suggests they can do so through the use of trained observers and forming committees that might include teachers, laymen, college faculty, and others.

Certification procedures, in addition to attempting some kind of quality control, also provide a quantitative control. Certification is the valve through which all manpower passes into the education system.

Therefore, it is urgent that the certification process be more than a flood control gate. It should be designed to meet manpower needs intelligently. But the tendency has been, as Stiles points out, to view the manpower need in education simply as a need for more teachers and smaller classes. This is the result of *a teacher is a teacher is a teacher* thinking. It completely ignores both economic and professional realities.

Economically, the reality is that under present staffing patterns, *there will never be a sufficient supply of high ability professional teachers to staff all classrooms.* In fact, as the

Stiles' report continues, teaching is *the only field that has not substantially increased the number of clients per professional over the past 30 years.*

Professionally, the reality is that different teachers have different skills and some teachers have more skills than others.

Taking these two realities into account, Stiles concludes that *a reasonable goal is not more but better prepared teachers.* Secondly, he concludes that a differentiated staffing pattern should be adopted by the state and reflected in levels of certification.

Differentiated staffing requires sane standards for pupil-staff ratios. For instance, what sort of ratios should prevail in schools with handicapped children or children requiring compensatory education? Furthermore, Stiles suggests, the long standing educational habit of maintaining smaller teacher-pupil ratios at the secondary school level needs to be questioned: *simple logic raises doubts about this pattern of increasing the amount of teacher time available as students develop greater capacity for independent study.*

The report recommends four levels of certification:

(1) Intern Teachers - *Those in training for teaching, who would take on a variety of assignments under close supervision and who would have to undergo renewal of their license annually.*

(2) Associate Teachers - *Beginning teachers who had demonstrated a basic level of competence and would have a basic teaching assignment under close supervision, with little discretionary authority. Their licenses would have to be renewed every three years.*

(3) Professional Teachers - *Proven teachers who can work without supervision and who*

would play a role in planning the educational program and supervising other teachers. Licenses renewable every seven years.

(4) Educational Specialists - *The description for professional teachers applies here as well. The difference is simply that specialists would indeed have a specialty, either of function (counseling, administration) or subject matter.*

A system of differentiated certification, combined with a system of renewal, would go a long way towards destroying the pernicious notions of *once a teacher, always a teacher* and *a teacher is a teacher is a teacher.*

The Jordan, Michael, and Gibson studies all echo Stiles' recommendations for the restructuring of certification. They are in essential agreement that such a system could, for minimal additional cost, result in much more effective use of teacher talent. And ultimately, that should result in happier teachers, more competent learners, and more human schools.

Despite the concurrence of these reports, and the support of many educational groups throughout the state, however, the General Court ended a serious flirtation with a revised bill embodying the key recommendations of the Stiles study this year by sending the bill back to committee.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a reasonable chance that the bill will surface again and receive favorable action by the legislature. That will be an important step. But if the General Court simply changes a certification law without freeing up the state department and giving it the resources to make that law work, or if certification practices change but the rest of the state's educational system remains the same, Massachusetts will have recorded another first and its students will scarcely note the difference.



Photo By William Durland



Sudden in a shaft of sunlight
Even while the dust moves
There rises the hidden foliage
of children in the foliage
Quick now, here now, always --
Ridiculous the waste sad time
Stretching before and after

T.S. Eliot

Photo By William Durland



Part Three

The System Itself The Maybe's Of Massachusetts Education

A HISTORY OF
MASSACHUSETTS EDUCATION:
1972-1985

By ²²
Ike N. Fortel

Sometime in 1972, it began to come together. The coalition included professional educators who mixed idealism with a growing discomfort at the number of brickbats being thrown their way; businessmen and labor leaders, concerned with an economy which, while it had some bright spots, was blotched with large areas of decay; college and university professors from private and public universities, schools of education and others, who were motivated, at least in part, by a new activism in academe; college and high school students whose own activism, if we are to believe newspaper and magazine accounts of that era, had more than a little to do with the new activism of their professors; civil rights activists, civil libertarians and advocates of student rights who provided a conscience for the coalition; civic and community associations which, as part of an increased national concern for reordering of priorities, decided to focus their efforts initially on the largest single domestic organized activity — education; and a handful of energetic but frustrated citizens from all walks of life whose despair at the lack of educational progress — despite studies, reports, exposes and rhetorical fusillades in the previous decade — was matched by their continuing zeal for educational reform. This broadbased group was joined initially by a handful of elected officials whose motivation seemed to be a combination of idealism with a willingness to gamble that they could rise to

higher office on a record of courageous leadership in educational affairs.

In retrospect, it seems an obvious coalition. The historian trying to explain its emergence at that particular time is confronted by an old dilemma, however; whether it was the leadership of a few individuals or simply the ripeness of the moment that caused it to come together. No doubt, the answer is a combination of the two. The clear fact, however, is that until that time, there was little communication between the various groups that did join. When dialogue had taken place, the subject was more likely to be mutual criticism than mutual goals.

Those who organized the coalition were sensible enough to realize that it had to be broadbased. Students of educational history had long realized that over time and within a large population, consensus determined the general parameters of any educational system — even though it was frequently a consensus of apathy and neglect. This, too, seems obvious enough in retrospect. But for some reason, those concerned with public education up to this time rarely seemed to realize the crucial significance of the most obvious fact: that it was **public** education. That is, the concern for quantity and quality of education, as reflected in budgeting and policymaking by elected officials of either the General Court or local school committees was a reflection of the concern of their constituents. The best explanation of this apparent ignorance seems to be that a legitimate, strong and traditional desire to free education from the vagaries of **partisan** politics had blinded many educators to the awareness that any organized, publicly financed endeavor is nevertheless political, in definition and in fact.

The organizers of the coalition, however, had

taken off the blinders. They knew a strong voice had to be heard in the public domain to change public education. Thus, they sought a broad based coalition. They also realized that coalitions are held together by minimizing the time and attention spent on differences and maximizing the effort spent to identify and pursue common goals.

In organizing the first annual meeting of the New Education Conference, ²³ Immanuel Shalcom, a prime mover and first chairman of the organization, laid down one basic rule: during the proceedings, all participants were to withhold negative reactions to presentations, and focus, instead, on amplifying those recommendations and suggested goals they endorsed. Shalcom further assured all participants that no platform would emerge from the conference which was not endorsed at least by three-fourths of the participants.

The format of that now historic meeting included three phases. First, a series of presentations and discussions were made by virtually all those who had made MACE studies of education in Massachusetts over the previous decade, plus presentations by knowledgeable educators and educational thinkers within the state.

Subsequently, the 200 persons attending the conference broke into task groups to prepare recommendations for submission to the whole group. The process was a lengthy one, but once a list was assembled, there was strong support voted for basic agenda. Its major points were the following:

(1) That the General Court should revise its aid to education formula to equalize per pupil expenditures across the state; to eliminate reliance on the property tax as the major source

of school revenues and to increase the fiscal priority of education.

(2) That the State Department of Education should be strengthened as a service and coordinating agency by granting it managerial autonomy and increased salary levels; by adding substantially to its "outreach" capabilities through stronger regional offices, and by clearly defining which prerogatives and powers would remain with local school districts.

(3) That the General Court require five-year plans of the State Department of Education, updated annually, and that similar plans be required of local school districts by the state department.

(4) That the Department and local school districts be required to evaluate and provide an "educational accounting" each year of their progress towards the objectives of those plans.

(5) That representatives of local school districts be involved in the formation of long range state department plans, and parents, teachers, students, and community representatives be involved in formation of local school district plans.

(6) That all objectives in such plans be justified in terms of benefit to students.

(7) That small school districts be consolidated into units not smaller than 4,000 pupils, and large school districts be decentralized to achieve a maximum size of 15,000 pupils, according to criteria of comprehensiveness, flexibility and

community characteristics.

(8) That a management information system, providing for two way communication between the state department and local school districts, be instituted to insure the best fiscal and statistical data for planning purposes, plus exchange of research findings and curricular improvements for constant redefinition of goals and programs.

(9) That a differentiated, renewable system of certification be instituted and implemented by colleges, local school districts and laymen under direction of the State Department of Education.

These points, the so-called Nine Point Agenda became the subject of organized discussions throughout the state. Shalcom, fully aware of the potent tradition of local control, realized that grass roots support was essential for any major change in the Commonwealth's school system. The basic strategy was quite simple. Most of the organizations represented at the conference had local chapters throughout the state which were enlisted in sponsoring scores of local forums, seminars and conferences. NEC, using a foundation grant and funds contributed by member organizations, hired a staff to help organize discussion groups and also feed the results of those discussions into the overall plan.

One unusual aspect of the strategy deserves mention. This was the decision to prepare a Massachusetts Educational Planning Simulation Game — subsequently known as MassPlan. The game became a focal activity at many local sessions — an open ended and engaging way to increase local sophistication about the basic issues, decisions and consequences of various educational thrusts.

(By engaging in this process, as other commentators have observed, NEC also presented a model for what the State Department of Education became: a central body that offered leadership in public education through education of the general public; a leadership exercised not by fiat but by structuring the flow of information necessary to give the political process both vitality and sophistication.)

An 18-month period was devoted primarily to educating the public about the Nine Point Agenda — an education campaign as thoroughly organized as an election campaign. Gradually, support for the agenda began to grow, and NEC turned its efforts more and more to direct lobbying. It distributed information, for instance, evaluating the voting record of all legislators on education bills. It sought statements from candidates in the 1974 elections, concerning their position on the Nine Point Agenda, and circulated those statements widely. It drew up model legislation based on the original agenda and feedback from hundreds of local meetings.

And by this time, a growing number of campaigning politicians were taking education and the Nine Point Agenda seriously. The result was an "education session" of the legislature in 1975 that culminated with the Comprehensive Education Reform Act. Passage of that bill, in effect, made the Nine Point Agenda the foundation for education in the state. 24

The Comprehensive Education Reform Act was widely heralded as signifying *a new era* in Massachusetts education. *The trend has been, stopped*, one newspaper editorialized. *No longer is it likely that we will see that day when Massachusetts, once the first in education, shall*

be the last. And while there is no doubt that ten years later, there are still shortcomings in the educational system, the improvements are substantial.

Perhaps the most significant, to this historian, has been the emergence of a State Department of Education capable of providing the leadership and stabilizing influence which, paradoxically, is necessary to carry change forward.

The most visible indications of that capability are the Technical Assistant-Resource Teams (TART) which function through the state's regional offices. These teams are assembled for different tasks, assisting different districts with different concerns, needs and problems. Usually they are interdisciplinary in make up, including college professors, schoolmen and department officials, as the task requires. They have been remarkably successful--perhaps because their *ad hoc* task orientation mitigates against bureaucratic entrenchment--in playing a facilitating role in local school districts: suggesting alternatives, presenting information, helping to define problems which were otherwise at best fuzzily perceived, if perceived at all, and arranging training, conferences and collaboration among a broad range of resources. Oddly enough, it can be observed, the functioning of these teams from the state department has, in some ways, revitalized the Massachusetts tradition of localism. It has done so by eliminating inefficiencies and much of the parochialism--not to mention the anachronisms--which had become the legacy of that tradition. In their place, the TART teams have often stimulated increased sophistication and involvement by parents, teachers, administrators and, of course, students (who once played so minor a role in educational decision making).

Beyond that, statistics tell the story. Massachusetts, which once stood an incredible 50th among the states in per capita outlays for education, now spends at the highly respectable level of ...

Of course, it can be objected, that is all fiction.

But any possible future is a fiction until it occurs. The problem for the present, any present, is making the most desirable possible future a probable future. That is why goals and planning are important.

Futures do not simply happen. They are made, and they are made in good measure by the active choice of people.

Chapter 9: In Conclusion

In a funny, ironic way, the need for change in Massachusetts education is so overwhelming and all pervasive that it is dangerous.

It is dangerous because, *change* has its own paralyzing dynamics. In the age of *'future shock'*, it has been suggested there is not so much a generation gap as a gap between those who are for *change* and those who are against it. Too often, those who are for it want it yesterday; those who are against it want it never.

The zeal for revolutionary change abounds in educational circles: so does resistance and defensiveness by those representing the status quo. Harder to find is thoughtful, purposeful thinking about goals or the gritty energy, extending over time, which creates changes that are systematic, structural and enduring.

The cumulative recommendations of the MACE reports, present a blueprint for systemic

and systematic change: change which needs to be thoughtfully, even painstakingly, implemented, just as the recommendations themselves were compiled with time and care. Changes that take place in a weakly structured system are liable to reversal or failure. For ultimately, it is the soundness of the entire system which provides the support for change. Sick systems can get *too much of a good thing*.

The MACE reports suggest, then, that the Commonwealth has to take a lot of steps to establish the prerequisites, the basis of a system that can support change, before considering the more dramatic leaps that education may require in the strange world of the last quarter of the 20th century. Such basic building blocks as equal educational opportunity, comprehensive educational opportunities, intelligible personnel policies, the preparedness for the future that planning represents, and simple concern for students must come first.

If it is true, as educators, social scientists, futurists and common sense all suggest, that education will continue to grow, in importance, not only for *success* but also to simply be able to survive in a world of change, the importance of taking those steps is self-evident.

The mystery is why they have not been taken already. It is a mystery, in the end, that only the people of the Commonwealth can solve.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter 1

1. A list of current MACE studies is shown on the inside back cover.
2. The Massachusetts Department of Education, *Proposals for Progress in the 70's*, John S. Gibson, September, 1970.
3. *Occupational Education for Massachusetts*, Carl J. Schaefer and Jacob J. Kaufman, June, 1968, p. 22.

Chapter 2

4. It is interesting to note that Mann was also a president of the Massachusetts State Senate, a fact suggestive of the need to combine political with educational leadership to produce good public education.
5. *A Systems Approach for Massachusetts Schools: A Study of School Building Costs*, Nelson Aldrich, November, 1971.
6. *Proposals for Progress in the 70's*, p. 9.

Chapter 3

7. *Report of the Massachusetts Business Task Force for School Management*, Warren King and Associates, December, 1970.
8. This study was completed by Mrs. Charlotte Ryan, Chairman of the Massachusetts Education Conference Board, in 1970.

Chapter 4

9. A Division of Research, Planning and Evaluation in the state department has assembled good statistical data for the first time, but as yet, there has been minimal use made of that data.
10. For example, if districts requiring the same equipment (e.g., school desks) pooled their orders, the increase in volume would produce lower per unit costs. Districts ignorant of new and more economical practices in school construction, given that knowledge, would save funds with no loss in quality. Districts which lack the technical knowledge of *chi-squares multivariate factor analysis, regression analysis* and other techniques cloaked by the jargon of researchers cannot even begin to think about coherent evaluation of programs. A good regional office would help provide the coordination for joint purchasing, information concerning new construction techniques, and the consultation and expertise for designing evaluation. And so on.
11. *Blue print for Action: A Summary of Recommendations for Improving Compensatory Education in Massachusetts*, Daniel Jordan and Kathryn Spiess, March 1970.
12. *Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity*, Joseph M. Cronin, October, 1970.
13. *Quality Education for the High Schools in Massachusetts: A Study of the*

Comprehensive High School in Massachusetts, Lloyd S. Michael, March, 1971.

14. *Organizing for a Child's Learning Experience: A Report of a Study of School District Organization in Massachusetts*, Donald T. Donley, April, 1971.

Chapter 5

15. *Massachusetts Study of Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children*, Burton Blatt, January, 1971, p. 210.

16. *Ibid.*

Chapter 6

17. *Op. cit.*

18. Blatt, *op. cit.*

Chapter 7

19. This observation is based on the writer's experience as a faculty member of the University of Massachusetts School of Education's Center for Occupational Education during 1970-71.
20. A major problem is that reimbursement for vocational education usually is lost if the student's program deviates from a specified number of hours studying a trade each week. Schools reliant on these funds to operate have little choice but to sacrifice student

flexibility to fiscal concerns.

21. Teacher Certification and Preparation in Massachusetts, Lindley J. Stiles, June, 1968.

Chapter 8

22. Reprinted from **The Journal of Education and Politics**, January/March, 1985, pp. 17-24.

23. The title was a deliberate reflection of the important contribution of the old Massachusetts Educational Conference Board. Representatives of all the educational groups that had composed the old Conference Board participated in the first meeting of NEC and played an important role in its subsequent development.

24. A significant addition to the agenda by the legislature was creation of a division for continuing education within the state department, and provisions for significant funding for adult education. The legislature, prompted by the arguments of a 1970 MACE report, **Continuing Education**, by Melvin R. Levin and Joseph S. Slavet, recognized that continuing education frequently produced a higher return per dollar than elementary and secondary education, and was essential for the 20 percent of adults in the Commonwealth with less than an eighth grade education if equality of educational opportunity were to be extended to all citizens of the Commonwealth, not simple the young. It is

perhaps a tribute to the new potency of education as a political force that the General Court acted on its own to, in the words of one member, "see to it that continuing education becomes a major chapter and not just a footnote in the textbook of Massachusetts education."

THE FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

SECTION B

General Laws Relating to Education Chapter 15 - Section IH

The Council shall annually, on or before the first Monday of November, report to the Governor its findings and plans regarding the coordination, effectiveness, and efficiency of public education programs and systems in the Commonwealth.

PART I

Studies Completed

Section A has provided an appraisal of education in Massachusetts as viewed ...through the binoculars... of major MACE reports, stretching from as far back as 1966 up until studies only recently completed. This appraisal has included a selective review of the following studies, which were completed during the past year:

- Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children - Blatt
- Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity - Cronin
- Organizing for a Child's Learning Experience - Donley
- Quality Education for the High Schools in Massachusetts - Michael

In addition to the above, in September 1971, a \$43,000 study of the state colleges of Massachusetts, entitled, *The People's Colleges: The State Colleges of Massachusetts*, was received by the Council. Some of the major findings of this study showed:

- Over 80% of state college students plan to teach, while only 3% consider themselves liberal art students.
- The great majority of members of state college faculties publish little and do little or no research despite believing that a principal function of their college is the advancement of knowledge.

- While some undergraduate programs are forward looking, many reflect extreme conservatism, an unreadiness to accommodate change, a minimum adjustment to new needs.

- The requirement of self sustaining graduate programs has led to few efforts to develop new or experimental graduate programs.

From these and other findings the report concluded that what was needed was a system of "...comprehensive state colleges to combine in the undergraduate years the best of the liberal arts tradition with realistic preparation for a profession." To do this, the teaching and academic programs of the colleges would have to be strengthened, centers of excellence on each campus developed, free access of students and faculty to each other and to resources on other campuses facilitated and alternative career programs established. On a planning and coordination level, the report recommends continued and extended support to the Office of the Provost, development of a statewide data system, differentiation of program specialization among the colleges, and within the total higher educational system, a search for student bodies not presently being served and improved communication with the legislature.

In November 1971, the Council received the final report of its study of school building costs, entitled, *A Systems Approach for Massachusetts Schools: A Study of School Building Costs*. The one-year study, conducted by the architectural firm of Campbell, Aldrich and Nulty, took an intensive look at current school planning, design, construction and financing practices in the Commonwealth. Locally, the study found that inadequate attention is given to long-range planning and need forecasting. As a result, the

need for new school facilities is frequently allowed to become critical before the planning and design process is initiated.

On a state level, the planning process is complicated by a cumbersome planning and approval process, a general lack of coordination among the 13 state agencies involved in planning and design, and the absence of written standards, procedural handbooks or information services from the Department of Education.

School construction, itself, the study found to be characterized by high costs, fragmentation of responsibility, inadequate cost and time control, wide fluctuations in the amounts of work in progress and seasonality. More specifically, the study found that:

- Two-thirds of a sample of recent schools were not completed on time.
- Construction costs have been rising at an annual rate of 12%, although this is presently leveling off to 7%.
- It takes from three to ten years to complete a school.
- Almost 11,000 public school classrooms will be required over the next five years.

two possible courses of action: (1) a series of adjustments and improvements in current building construction processes, or (2) a major recasting of the entire school building process by creation of a public non-profit corporation with broad powers to construct and finance new public school construction.

PART II

Studies Underway

A study of *Early Childhood Education*, covering zero to five years, was commissioned, in

1970, to Dean Richard Rowe of Harvard University. The study has recently been completed.

The need for appropriate child care, with an educational component, has become clear in recent years. Several legislative proposals which would further support early childhood education, were considered during the last session of Congress. The study team has taken a comprehensive look at the early childhood scene in Massachusetts and has completed a set of far-reaching recommendations which deal, among other things, with management structure, educational programs, teacher certification, kindergarten and evaluation. A practical **Child Care Program-Development Manual** will be provided.

Thus far in fiscal 1972, the Council has planned and commissioned two studies and is working on plans for two additional major studies. The first study, mounted by the Council, grew out of its conviction that it must begin the job of examining at close range the instructional programs in the Commonwealth's public schools. The first, of what the Council expects will be an extended series of studies, investigating the nature of public school curricula, is an \$80,000 study entitled, **Science Instruction in the Elementary Schools of Massachusetts**, contracted with Harvard University. Under the directorship of Dr. Dean K. Whitla, Director of the Office of Tests and Lecturer on Education at Harvard, the study will examine the degree to which four modern science curricula are being used in our elementary schools, how these curricula were successfully installed in selected schools, and how other schools might be assisted in effectively installing one or more of them. The

need for such a study is dictated by the fact that a preliminary survey, conducted by the Department of Education last year, showed that only five percent of elementary schools in the Commonwealth even claimed to use one (or more) of these modern curricula, upon which the National Science Foundation spent millions of dollars in developmental efforts. It should be noted, at this point, that it is likely the study will attract over \$100,000 of National Science Foundation funds to support efforts to implement the study's findings.

The second report, commissioned during the year, was for a study, **Governance of Public Schools in the Commonwealth**. This \$75,000 study, contracted with the University of Massachusetts, has on its staff, in addition to the Director, Dr. Paul C. Cook of M.I.T., two major consultants — President Robert C. Wood and Professor Maurice Donahue of the University of Massachusetts. The study grew out of two years of joint explorations of the topic by MACE, the Massachusetts Association of School Committees and the Massachusetts Association of School Superintendents. During this period, in which lengthy discussions were held with and proposals heard from experts in the fields of educational policy formulation and school administration, the Council concluded that the range and complexity of problems and pressures confronting school committees and superintendents were such that a study was both needed and justified.

The purpose of the study, as stated in the proposal, is to *...bring together, in an ongoing relationship, those charged with operating local school systems and the political-analytical-*

managerial experts involved in the study, so that new procedures, laws, communications' techniques, organizational roles and relationships...fitted to today's situation can be evolved, disseminated, and made the basis for a continuing program of change and improvement. Thus, what the study proposes is both a process and a product. *The product will be a problem and issue oriented report that is focused on the immediate needs arising in the current situation, and provides the basis for action.* The process will involve a close working relationship, on a regularly scheduled basis, with representatives of school superintendents and school committee members.

As cited in Section A of this report, the Council's study of district organization, **Organizing for a Child's Learning Experience**, showed schools in Massachusetts to have developed in *...evolutionary crazy quilt patterns and overlapping of different kinds of educational administrative units and diversity of school organization structures, rendering it practically impossible to assure coordination, quality education, equality of opportunity, accountability and economy on a statewide or even regional level.* The scope of the study did not include development of a master plan for district organization. On the other hand, the study recommended the creation of a commission, appointed by either the legislature or the Governor, to devise such a plan for the Commonwealth. Acting this recommendation, the Council appointed a committee to formulate plans to bring into being a Commission to mount a two year study effort to create a state plan for school district organization. Representatives of the Board of Education sat on that committee, and the plans for the commission and study

effort, which were announced by the Governor in November, were the result of full collaboration of the Board of Education. Two members of the board serve on the Governor's Commission to Prepare a Comprehensive Plan for School District Organization and Collaboration. The Council has committed \$200,000 of its funds from fiscal years 1972 and 1973.

A second study, currently being planned by the Council, will concern itself with the problems of public higher education. Unlike previous MACE studies of the Commonwealth's state and community colleges and adult education, this study would be concerned with the different avenues by which all the various higher education segments could cooperate and collaborate in extending their resources to those not now being served and in moving ahead in experimentation with new modes of instruction. From discussions with key people in public education and a conference involving representatives from all public higher education segments, the Council has begun to draw up preliminary specifications for the study. The Council plans to fund the study at between \$65,000 and \$100,000.

PART III Studies Contemplated

While the above plans are for fiscal 1972, the Council has also drawn up a list of study priorities extending beyond this period. Included in these priorities are:

- *Second year funding for the continuation of the school district organization study described above.*

- *A study of the educational programs and practices in either the elementary schools or junior high-middle schools*
- *The development of a master plan for implementing an education management data and information system.*
- *A new study in Curriculum and instruction (e.g., reading, mathematics, learning environments).*
- *A study of the nature and extent of educational change in the Commonwealth.*
- *An investigation of student relations in our schools.*
- *A manpower information study.*

PART IV Implementation

Each of the Council's past annual reports has reflected upon a concern that something happen as a result of its studies — that legislators, school officials and citizen leaders are informed, and that change and improvement occur.

The Council's studies are focused upon educational needs. Each study involves many people across the state, who become agents in support of the study's recommendations. Then come the study reports with their analyses and recommendations. They speak to the Boards of Education as those primarily responsible for educational leadership, and also to the Governor, legislators, school committees, school administrators, teachers, citizen groups, and citizen leaders.

Two things become clear. It takes a long time for measurable progress to be made following a study, and each year, following a report, the impact of the study becomes increasingly intermingled with the efforts of all those to whom the study recommendations have been directed. In short, it is difficult, and in some cases impossible, to know just how much impact the study has had.

And yet, the Council continues its concern that its studies make a difference. Therefore, it is appropriate for the Governor, the Legislature, the boards, educators and citizens in general to seek to know and to judge how effective the Council's efforts are. Indeed, the last item in the Council's budget for its proposed list of studies for 1973 is an independent evaluation of the Council's impact to date.

Passage of the teacher certification legislation, House 6244, would have been the Council's first significant legislative achievement. While many groups and organizations are responsible for the content of the bill and for its getting approved by the Joint Committee on Education, the House Ways and Means Committee, the House itself, and finally by the Senate Ways and Means Committee, the impulse for the bill derived from one of MACE's first studies, *Teacher Certification and Preparation in Massachusetts*. It was the Council which initiated the writing and filing of the prototype bill in December, 1970. Aware that the bill was not perfect and that the Council could not alone gain passage for such legislation, MACE invited modifications of the bill and the leadership of the Board of Education and the teaching profession.

Board of Education and the teaching profession. The Council's greatest hope for implementation of its study recommendations is

that the staffs of the Boards of Education and Higher Education will consider the recommendations and set about implementing them. The Council is appreciative of the considerable efforts of the past years of the Board of Education and its Department. The problem is not unwillingness to change and improve but that the ongoing responsibilities of the Department fully occupy the time and talent of its numerically limited staff. In almost every case, the state leadership and services recommended by the studies require more staff and funds. It is difficult to demonstrate to the people and their government leaders that our school systems need state leadership and services — that the few million dollars available for leadership and services is less than four tenths of one percent of the cost of the billion dollar plus state school system.

During the past year, the Board of Education adopted as first priority one of the recommendations of the Council's study, **The Massachusetts Department of Education — Proposals for Progress in the Seventies**. The recommendation is: *A program should be launched under the aegis of the department, calling for the establishment of educational goals, evaluation of schools, and accountability by educators and educational decision-makers to the public to serve for their performance with respect to students.* The Board of Education has had prepared a pamphlet, **Educational Goals for Massachusetts**. It involved committees of distinguished civic and educational leaders and is presently being discussed across the Commonwealth. At the same time, the Department has developed plans for a results approach to education, and has prepared a list of 14 educational imperatives for 1972.

The Department of Education is reorganizing and streamlining. One result has been the reallocation of staff resources into task forces to confront the most urgent problems. One of the task forces is assigned to examine the recent MACE study of the comprehensive high school, **Quality Education for the High Schools in Massachusetts**, by Lloyd Michael, and to work with a committee of the Secondary School Principals Association already tackling the recommendations of the study.

During the past year, the Board of Education has created a coordinating committee on adult education, whose purpose is to develop plans for the improvement of adult education at secondary and higher education levels, in the light of the recommendations of the Levin-Slavet study, **Continuing Education in Massachusetts: State Programs for the Seventies**.

Two years ago as a result of the recommendations of the study, **Pupil Services for Massachusetts Schools**, by Liddle and Kroll, the Board of Education voted to establish a Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services. Unfortunately, the Board's efforts to gain funds to support the Bureau have so far been unsuccessful.

A transition from direct involvement with the Department to the efforts of educators and citizens throughout the state is the year-long activity of the Committee to Implement the Recommendations of the Business Task Force for School Management. Chaired by Mr. Felix de C. Pereira, a member of the Executive Committee of the Business Task Force and now a member of the Advisory Council, the Committee consists of superintendents, school business officials, former Task Force members, representatives of the State Department of Education and staff members of the Associated

Industries of Massachusetts. The Task Force itself has incorporated so that it can directly furnish services to the Department and to school systems. In cooperation with the superintendents and school business officials, the business task force committee is planning to publish a directory of corporation executives, willing to assist local school systems in the analyses and organization of their school business practices.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Business Task Force, the Board of Education voted to create a Bureau of School Business Services and requested funds in the 1972 budget. When these were not forthcoming, it requested funds in the supplementary budget. Representatives of the Task Force and the staff of the Council approached the Deputy Commissioner for Administration and Finance and the Governor's office to plead the case for the new bureau. As this report is written, funds have been made available to the Department to employ a Director and small staff to begin the development of the much needed services to local school systems in the several areas of business management.

Two years ago, one of MACE's major efforts was a study of the problems of the Boston school system, in collaboration with the Boston School Committee and partially supported by the Danforth Foundation.

A year after issuing **Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity** by Joseph Cronin, the following marked progress has occurred as a result of the study recommendations:

- , **School System Reorganization - Major administrative reorganization with special stress on staff development and training began almost**

immediately after the report's release.

- **School Councils** - *Several area school councils have been created.*

- **Vocational-Technical Education** - *School system was awarded state planning monies in this area and stepped up efforts at minority recruitment.*

As reported under new studies, in its funding of the Governor's Commission to Prepare a Comprehensive Plan for School District Organization and Collaboration, the Council has mounted its most ambitious effort to date. Its members hope that the Commission will formulate a set of plans which will provide school systems sufficiently large and sufficiently related to other systems, through formal collaboration, so that every child's educational need may be met at a reasonable cost. Furthermore, the Commission is charged to work diligently for up to two years with citizens and their leaders in all sections of the state to develop understanding of and support for the plans it formulates with their help. This is a new and different effort, in collaboration with the Board of Education, to assure implementation, improvement and change.

Informal groups and committees have been formed, as a result of the Council's studies, in special education, pupil services, the culturally deprived and occupational education. It is probable that the studies' most important contribution so far is that they inform increasing numbers of educators and citizens across the Commonwealth and stimulate them to greater and more informed efforts at improvement and support. As Mr. deLone's analysis, in the first

section of this report makes so clear, the studies are a continuing input; their findings and recommendations interlock and reinforce each other.

The Council is aware that progress towards implementation of recommendations in its several reports has been both slow and fitful. The Council, as the Director has repeatedly noted, is only too painfully aware of the limitations on its powers. Yet, the Council, the Director and the staff do believe there is a steady increase in the cumulative impact of MACE studies on the Commonwealth's educational decision-makers. With time and persistence, this impact will grow to fruition.

The Director expresses his appreciation to Dr. Allan S. Hartman, Associate Director, for his assistance and efforts in preparing this entire report.

TABLE I
STUDIES COMPLETED DURING 1971

Title	Director	MACE Funding	Study Received By MACE
Massachusetts Study of Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children	Burton Blatt (Syracuse)	\$ 55,400	January 1971
Organizing for a Child's Learning Experience: A Report of a Study of School District Organization in Massachusetts	Donald Donley (Boston College)	35,300	January 1971
Quality Education For the High Schools in Massachusetts: A study of the Comprehensive High School in Massachusetts	Lloyd Michael (NESDEC)	101,500	April 1971
The People's Colleges : The State Colleges of Massachusetts	Evan Collins (Boston College)	43,575	September 1971
A Systems Approach for Massachusetts Schools: A Study of School Building Costs	Nelson Aldrich (Campbell, Aldrich & Nulty)	135,000	November 1971
TOTAL		\$370,775	

STUDIES CONTRACTED OR COMMITTED DURING FISCAL 1972 (To Date)

Science Instruction on the Elementary Schools in Mass.	Dean Whitla (Harvard)	80,000	September 1972
Governance of Public Schools in the Commonwealth	Paul Cook (University of Mass.)	75,000	June 1972
	TOTAL	\$155,000	

CURRENT MACE PUBLICATIONS

1972			
Child Care in Massachusetts: The Public Responsibility	Richard Rowe	The State Dollar and the Schools: A Discussion of State Aid Programs in Massachusetts and promising Reforms	Charlotte Ryan
1971			
Massachusetts Study of Educational Opportunities for Handicapped and Disadvantaged Children	Burton Blatt Frank Garfunkel	Report of the Massachusetts Business Task Force for School Management 1969	Warren King & Associates
Organizing for a Child's Learning Experience: A Report of a Study of School District Organization in Massachusetts	Donald T. Donley	A Cost Benefit Analysis of General Purpose State School Aid Formulas in Massachusetts	Andre Daniere
Quality Education for the High Schools in Massachusetts: A Study of the Comprehensive High School in Massachusetts	Lloyd S. Michael	The Measurement of Alternative Costs of Educating Catholic Children in Public Schools	Andre Daniere George Madaus
The People's Colleges: The State Colleges of Massachusetts	Evan R. Collins et. al.	Guidelines for Planning and Constructing Community Colleges	Bruce Dunsmore
A Systems Approach for Massachusetts Schools: A Study of School Building Costs	Nelson Aldrich George Collins Charles F. Mahoney	Take a Giant Step: Evaluation of Selected Aspects of Project 750	Herbert Hoffman
1970			
Organizing an Urban School System for Diversity	Joseph M. Cronin	Pupil Services for Massachusetts Schools 1968	Gordon Liddle Arthur Kroll
The Massachusetts Department of Education: Proposals for Progress in the 70's	John S. Gibson	The Management of Educational Information	Information Management, Inc.
Compensatory Education in Massachusetts: An Evaluation with Recommendations	Daniel Jordan Kathryn H. Spiess	Occupational Education for Massachusetts	Carl Schaefer Jacob Kaufman
Continuing Education in Massachusetts: State Programs for the Seventies	Melvin Levin Joseph Slavet	Teacher Certification and Preparation in Massachusetts 1967	Lindley J. Stiles
		The Massachusetts System of Higher Education in Transition	Samuel Gove
		Inequalities of Educational Opportunity in Massachusetts.	New England School Development Council



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